

THE INDIAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF
MAHATMA GANDHI AND THE U.S.A. CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT UNDER
THE LEADERSHIP OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.:
A COMPARISON OF TWO SOCIAL MOVEMENTS TO ASSESS THE UTILITY
OF NONVIOLENCE AS A RHETORICAL STRATEGY

By

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by

Mittie Jo Ann Nimocks

I dedicate this dissertation to
Cordelia Jones Nimocks
Frances Lane Nimocks
and
Robert Franklin Nimocks, II

This dubious honor is bestowed with
all the love and appreciation I can express,
for their cheerful, patient and generous acceptance
of numerous,
unexpected,
extra years of parenting
to get the last one launched

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The purpose of this study was to determine the efficacy of nonviolent direct action in effecting social change. The Nonviolent Efficacy Theory (NVET) was developed to describe major variables interacting to influence the success or failure of nonviolent social movements. The theory suggests the manner in which these variables interact and offers a method by which to estimate effectiveness or potential effectiveness of nonviolence used in historical, contemporary, or future movements. Two successful 20th Century movements, the Indian Independence Movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and the U.S.A. Civil Rights Movement under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther

King, Jr., were analyzed using NVET to ascertain which variables existing in and around these movements were not essential for the successful utilization of nonviolence. The salient variables of leader's style and personality as revealed through language were analyzed using nine psycholinguistic measures. Word count measures used included word and sentence counts, Type-Token Ratio, Adjective-Verb Quotient, and Flesch Human Interest Score.

The content analysis measures used included Discomfort-Relief Quotient, Gottschalk-Gleser Anxiety Scale, and Markel's Social Orientation Scales adapted from Gottschalk. The author's hypotheses that a culture's preference for nonviolence and appeals to higher authorities, standards, and concepts common to the movement and its opposition are the two most important factors to a successful movement were neither proven nor disproven. However, results indicate that high levels of political, economic, or physical power are not essential to a movement's success. Results of content analyses reveal no significant stylistic differences between King and Gandhi. However, results show that Gandhi experienced a significantly higher level of speaker discomfort and King demonstrated a significantly higher level of positive attitudes toward self and others. Complete descriptions of each word count and content analysis with coder's protocol and examples of coded speech segments are included for easy reference to methodology.

CHAPTER ONE
NONVIOLENCE AS A RHETORICAL STRATEGY: A
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF TWO SUCCESSFUL MOVEMENTS

Introduction

In his work Essays in Sociology (1946), German sociologist Max Weber discusses the structure of human society, the ways in which this structure is stratified, and for what reasons. He discusses intergroup conflict within society and the causes of such conflict, identifying the major cause as disagreement over the distribution of three areas of societal rewards: class, status, and power.

The rewards of class are primarily economic: one's income, property, and material possessions. The opportunities to attain wealth such as proper education and entrance into lucrative occupations are also rewards of class.

Status rewards are given by society through rituals, formalities, norms of politeness and etiquette, and forms of address which bestow honor, respect, or prestige on an individual or group. Power rewards are access to political office and influence in the society's decision-making process.

Intergroup conflict occurs in a society when one group feels that it is not getting its due share of one or more of

these rewards. Such distinctions may be the result of racism. The term "race" in this study will be used to refer to a social definition based on perceived physical differences deemed significant by a society (Gordon, 1964; Marx, 1971). "Racism," then, is the uncritical acceptance of negative social definitions of a group identified as a race on the basis of such perceived significant physical differences (Gordon, 1964; Marx, 1971). A study of Indian society during its years as a British colony reveals such disparity in the distribution of rewards of class, status, and power between the native people and the alien rulers; this disparity led to the Indian Movement for Home Rule.

A nation rich in natural and human creative resources, India is also a nation with a history of invasions by foreign warriors and merchants interested in enriching themselves and their homelands with the endowments of this mystic land--its mineral and agricultural wealth, its beautiful and unusual crafts, and its strange and intriguing ideas. Near the beginning of the 17th century, Great Britain joined the ranks of Indian invaders with a plan to exploit India's commercial potentials. The East India Company was founded expressly for the exportation and sale of Indian spices, drugs, cotton, sugar, and crafts. Slowly but surely as the British Empire expanded in other parts of the world so did its control of India. Frequently, this expansion was made possible by less than respectable means

through the making and breaking of agreements with leaders of the various and constantly warring states within India. Britain would promise to aid the cause of the prince or sovereign of one Indian province in return for land and privileges but would take that land and those privileges and forget the promise to the giver. It was in this way that by the 1700s Great Britain had gained control of India's government completely, ruling it either directly through appointed British governors or indirectly through Hindu maharaja and Moslem nawab puppets.

With the dawning of the Industrial Revolution, Britain's import of Indian goods waned as the export of its own manufactured goods increased. India's industries sagged under this loss of trade, and quickly the nation regressed to a purely agrarian state that was neither fertile enough nor sophisticated enough to supply the already huge and growing Indian population.

Embittered by a history of exploitation, incensed by discriminatory British laws and taxes, and driven by poverty and hunger, Indians waged a major spontaneous and disorganized military uprising against its oppressive foreign rulers. Many insults were experienced by the Indian population but the catalyst to this 1857 "Sepoy Uprising" was, to the British, the oversight of seemingly unfounded superstitious beliefs. To the Indians it was an insensitive and blasphemous disregard on the part of the British of

traditional Hindu and Moslem law. British-made cartridges were newly distributed among the Indian-populated British military units; the cartridges, which had to be bitten before loading, were greased with cow or pig fat, an element considered untouchable or unclean to Hindus and Moslems, respectively. During the uprising, one Indian regiment did manage to seize Delhi through much killing and vandalism. Yet the fury of the rebellion did not make up for the lack of cohesion and planning among Indian forces, and the British were able completely to suppress the uprising within but a matter of months.

However, the Sepoy Mutiny did cause a few minor improvements in conditions and attitudes in India. British rulers became more conscientious about their public trust, improving living conditions and communication and transportation systems. British officials of this time period quite commonly had lived most of their lives in this mysterious and beautiful colony and considered it, much more than England, as "home."

Britain postured as the benevolent but temporary governing power, "parenting" India until the time India was capable of self-rule. Yet racism, hardly a condition conducive to learning and taking on responsibility, continued in India against Indians. All things native or Asian were deemed second-rate by the British elite. In their own land Indians were subjugated, as all real power to spend taxes,

to appoint leaders, and to decide policy was in the hands of the British. Also, while India was supposedly gaining political and economic independence under British tutelage, its economic and political power was severely restricted through British law.

In 1888 the Indian National Congress was formed as an overt step in the direction of India self-governance, but in reality that Congress was possessed of much ceremony and little real power. Another organization, intended, in theory, to train India for self-rule was the Indian Civil Service. Yet, at no time was this organization comprised of less than 95% British members. Instead of encouraging national factions to unite, Britain seemed further to divide the already splintered population against itself by favoring first the Hindus then the Moslems as well as dividing the nation into British India governed by Britain directly and Native India governed by Britain indirectly through Indian princes. Such division encouraged feuding among states which kept India politically weak especially in comparison to the mighty and united British empire.

Economically, Britain could be expected to do what was best for England without regard to its "ward," India. Indian shipping and shipbuilding were officially restricted so that they would not impinge on demands for British shipping and shipbuilding. According to Fischer (1950), Indian historian and biographer of Mahatma Gandhi, Indian

industry and professional services were actively discouraged through a system of "Education [which] was not designed to train a technical staff for industry nor a professional class to serve the country." Thus, dependence on British talent and know-how was perpetuated rather than mitigated.

Under Weber's heading of rewards of class, great disparity existed between British and Indians in the amount of material goods and property owned and in the occupations and salaries available to each group. The status of Indians was low. Even members of the highest caste were considered lower than the British. Field Marshall Lord Roberts, quoted by Fischer, summed up this prejudice against Indians when he stated,

It is this consciousness of the inherent superiority of the European which has won us India. However well-educated and clever a native may be and however brave he may have proved himself, I believe that no rank which we can bestow upon him would cause him to be considered an equal by the British officer. (Roberts, cited in Fischer, 1950, p. 171).

Such attitudes openly expressed, and translated into institutionalized racism through discriminatory laws and social practices, made Indian discontent unavoidable and British-Indian conflict inevitable.

In the midst of such conditions, a young Indian was born by the name of Mohandas Karmachand Gandhi. Born into a family of the Vaisya caste, considered of lower status than the priests and warrior castes, the child Gandhi enjoyed a happy homelife in a cultured and well-to-do household. The

youngest in the family, he respected his father but was closest to his mother whom he revered as a near saint. Although he was not a religious child, he respected his mother's religious discipline which was to influence his own religious discipline in later years. At the age of 13 he was married to the girl, Kasturbai, through the traditional parentally-arranged marriage of Hindu India, yet he remained in his father's home and continued school as any other typical adolescent. As a student, he was unremarkable, but in high school he took a particular interest in comparative religion and studied the scriptures of Moslem, Parsi, Jain, and Buddhist philosophies. In 1888, Gandhi had the opportunity to travel to London seeking a law degree. He left a pregnant wife, a small son, many friends, and relatives, but it was the separation from his mother that most grieved him. Upon his departure she extracted a promise from him that he would not fall victim to English temptations of alcohol, cigars, promiscuous women, and diets including meat.

Young Gandhi proved to be a conscientious student not only of law but of many other human issues. In London, he enjoyed the company and friendship of many native English men and women and soon found himself to be a loyal British subject much in tune with and enamoured of the "British way of thinking." He took a particular interest in the study and discussion of vegetarianism and Christianity. As a vegetarian in a meat-eating society, Gandhi sought out the

company of other vegetarians and joined a society for vegetarianism. With the help of these associations, he was able to formulate a rationale based on remaining on a meatless diet for health and humanitarian reasons.

In London, Gandhi continued his explorations in comparative theology by studying the New Testament for the first time at the encouragement of his many new Christian friends. He was much inspired by many of Christ's teachings, particularly the Beatitudes. Many Christian hymns remained lifetime favorites. Still, Gandhi was never convinced that Christianity was the one true religion for two main reasons. One was that Christianity was basically intolerant of other religions. The second was Gandhi's observation that Christianity was the only major religion that did not directly protect the rights of animals.

Three years of study in London changed Gandhi in many ways. His beliefs about people and life became firm; he was to remain a convinced vegetarian throughout his life, his loyalty to England and Queen was unbounded, and his confidence in himself was improved. It was on the crest of this new-found selfhood that Gandhi first felt the indignity of being considered a "colored, second-class citizen." Although he was attired as fashionably and educated as reputedly as any London barrister and although he had purchased a first-class passage in travel to a legal case in South Africa, he was told that he must move to the

second-class coach because of his race. Refusing to do so, he was peremptorily ousted from the train altogether in a little town called Maritzburg, miles from his intended final destination of Durban in the province of Natal, South Africa.

Once in Durban, he anxiously conferred with other prominent Indian residents of Natal about the anti-Indian feeling and practices with which he had been confronted. Not only was Gandhi greatly distressed to learn of more blatantly discriminatory laws and social norms of British South Africa but was even more distressed to learn of the acquiescent and philosophical manner in which he was expected to bear them.

In South Africa, all society was strictly segregated. All Asiatics were disenfranchised. After 9 p.m. Indians had to carry passes, and if caught without their "papers," they were arrested. In some colonies, Indians were not allowed to own property, set up business, or own farms. In others, Indians could not own African gold. Everywhere, Indians suffered a lack of status and respect. They were commonly referred to by derogatory terms such as "Sammie" or "coolie" and were described even in legal and educational literature as "semibarbarous."

Mohandas Gandhi felt a strong moral need and desire to resist these insults and injustices. An avid student of religion, he had learned all he could of the world's major religions. He identified with Hinduism because it was the

religion of his mother, yet he respected all religions as means to finding God, and he respected all persons as children of God. He was also greatly influenced by the pacifistic philosophies of such people as Henry David Thoreau, Leo Tolstoy, and particularly Jesus of Nazareth as he instructed his followers in his historic "Sermon on the Mount." Gandhi's personal and religious view placed all men and women on an equal plane as brothers and sisters. Even animals were kin to humanity; all life was interrelated and interdependent. For this reason, violence in word or deed against another living being was violence against oneself and was abhorrent and never to be practiced.

Yet, to accept with no resistance the system of racism in which he now found himself enmeshed was equally abhorrent. Gandhi was determined to act against the system yet to do so in a nonviolent manner.

Thus, in time, Gandhi's doctrine of nonviolent direct action developed. He coined the term "satyagraha" taken from "satya" meaning truth and love and "agraha" meaning firm grasp in Sanskrit or, more generally, "force" (Bondurant, 1958). The means of satyagraha, therefore, are the forces of truth and love. It was through this channel that a person could most effectively persuade an opponent and do so in a manner which uplifted the persuader and the persuaded. Because of his faith in the oneness of all people, he believed that through violence one only hurt

oneself. Responding to violence with courageous nonviolence would make this truth obvious to a violent opponent, softening his or her resolve. He felt that changing society for the better began with strengthening and purification of the individual. Through a simple life of prayer, labor, good health habits, and abstinence from worldly pleasures, a person could begin the changing of society as a whole. It was in this belief that Gandhi proposed and successfully led a movement that started with a handful of devotees. Over the next 40 years he masterminded a movement that culminated in a nationwide struggle for social and legal reforms; finally, India established its independence from Great Britain.

While Gandhi and the nation of India struggled toward national independence and an end to racial and class discrimination, similar conditions of prejudice and institutionalized racism were being endured by another oppressed people in a country of contrasting history and located halfway around the world from India. In the United States of America, the Civil War ending in 1865 marked the end of slavery, yet black people in this country could hardly consider themselves free in the true and fullest sense of that word. As late as the 1950s, nearly a century after the Emancipation Proclamation of President Abraham Lincoln, blacks shared disproportionately in their national society's resources and rewards. Blacks and whites were segregated,

by law and by social norms, according to neighborhoods, primary groups, and public services, facilities and institutions. Many whites chose to believe that this was what blacks wanted and that this was an equitable "separate but equal" arrangement. Equal it was not. Returning to Weber's theory which identifies class, status, and power as the three most valuable resources of a society, the deprivation of which is likely to cause intergroup conflict, great disparity existed between American blacks and whites. In terms of class considerations, the occupations available to blacks were limited and lower in prestige than those available to whites. Salaries for the vast majority of blacks were lower than for whites employed to perform equal labor. Blacks were trapped in the lower socioeconomic group where they were of lower status, trapped because low incomes and assignment to inferior school systems did not provide the opportunities needed in order to improve their position in society. They were afforded little respect in the accepted social hierarchy. Adults were referred to by first names or as "boy" or "girl," yet were expected to refer to whites by formal titles and by "ma'am" and "sir." The word "Negro" was often spelled with a small "n" when it was used; furthermore, it was often replaced in common usage by the derogatory word "nigger." Black attitudes or accomplishments (beauty in physical appearance, artistry in music, literature, etc.) were viewed customarily as second-rate.

Statements of praise were often qualified: "She's pretty for a Negro girl" or "He's smart for a colored" as though a black could not really be compared with whites who would obviously be superior. Black heroes, heroines, and historical figures were conspicuously absent from history textbooks.

Lack of power among blacks was an inevitable result of this self-perpetuating system in which blacks could not significantly improve their socioeconomic positions. Few economic opportunities and poor educational background did little to arm this minority with any sort of societal power. Few, if any, blacks held a governmental position. Few felt it worthwhile to try to overcome procedural impediments giving sanction of law deliberately to keep blacks from registering to vote. Blacks, therefore, had no influence in making, changing, or enforcing rules by which they lived and could not be certain that their constitutional rights would be upheld. At every turn, this minority group was met with barriers to their upward mobility. Even those few who became famous or financially successful were not given opportunities to assert fully equal power or to be accorded social status commensurate with that enjoyed by white people. Entertainers, such as Harry Belafonte, sports figures, such as Jackie Robinson, though well-known and wealthy, were many times denied access to common public

institutions and facilities that were clearly designated as being for "whites only."

An accumulation of grievances made the 1950s a time ripe for confrontation between blacks and whites, particularly in consideration of another major factor of that time. Many blacks had served the U.S.A. in World War II. Many were injured; many died. Surely, a country for which blacks had gone to battle owed them basic rights. Additionally, trips overseas by black U.S.A. servicemen broadened the horizons for a large percentage of the young black population, raising their goals and expectations. They returned to the country for which they risked their lives and found that it still offered persons of their race only limited goals for their futures and minimal opportunities by which to reach those goals.

So it was, that in 1929, a decade before the war, Martin Luther King, Jr., was born a second-class citizen in U.S.A. society. He was more fortunate than most blacks in the U.S.A. at that time for he grew up in a prominent, well-educated, middle-income family in Atlanta, Georgia. The Kings were considered an "upper-class black family." Unlike Gandhi, King felt the indignity and insult of racism at an early age when his best childhood playmate became too old to play with "niggers" anymore. Like Gandhi, he was raised in a devout household; his father and grandfather were both Baptist ministers. He was a bright student and became

concerned with social problems at an early age. He pondered becoming a doctor or lawyer in order to help others before deciding that the ministry was the helping profession for which he was best suited. Like Gandhi, he was an avid student of the world's great religions and philosophies and also went "abroad" from his native southland for a more distinguished education. After he received a B.A. in sociology from Atlanta's Morehouse University, he matriculated to Crozer Seminary in Pennsylvania where he earned a Bachelor of Divinity degree. Afterwards, he pursued a doctorate in philosophy at Boston University. It was in Boston that he met and married Coretta Scott, a voice student at a local conservatory.

Throughout his study, King was greatly impressed and influenced by the same pacifists who had inspired Gandhi: Thoreau, Tolstoy, and Christ. In 1950, while a student at Crozer, King heard an address on Gandhi and his philosophy of nonviolence given by Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University. King was so inspired he signed up for a seminar the following semester entitled the Philosophy of Religion for which he researched and wrote a paper on the Mahatma and his teachings. Gandhi's contributions to King's personal philosophy can be best described in King's own words:

Gandhi was probably the first person in history to lift the love ethic of Jesus above mere interaction between individuals to a powerful and effective social force on a large scale. Love for

Gandhi was a potent instrument for social and collective transformation. It was in this Gandhian emphasis on love and nonviolence that I discovered the method for social reform that I had been seeking for so many months. (King, 1958, p.97)

The two men took somewhat different theological routes. Gandhi's ideas, though influenced by western Christianity, are more firmly based in the Hindu religion; King's ideas, influenced by Gandhi, are more firmly based in the teachings of Christ. However, the two men reached similar conclusions regarding the nature of humanity and the means to deal with social injustices within society. Believing in the equality of all persons, King could not accept the prevailing unjust system perpetuated by society in his native land. He believed it wrong to stand by stoically and excuse inaction because "this is just the way things are." Yet, force or violent rebellion was not acceptable either to a man steeped in Christian instruction to love one's neighbor. Whatever was to be done must be done in a loving and nonviolent manner. The discovery of Gandhi's "satyagraha" seemed to be the solution. He saw it as the practical infusion of action into the philosophy of Christ. It offered a third choice between the extremes of violent rebellion and passive acquiescence in reponse to the unjust status quo. It offered a means of resistance which was courageous, active, yet avoiding physical or emotional violence against the persons toward whom it was directed. The first opportunity to adapt satyagraha to the purposes of the Negro in the U.S.A.

presented itself, ironically, in the shape and form of Rosa Parks, a mild-mannered seamstress from Montgomery, Alabama.

On a cold December day in 1955, Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to a white passenger which was the common practice when no other seats were available. She was quickly arrested. This arrest was the final insult in an ever-increasing burden of grievances borne by the black community, and it brought this dispersed community of Montgomery solidly together to confront the norms of discrimination as they existed. The response was a boycott of that city's buslines which depended largely upon black patronage as a source of income. After a year-long struggle, during which blacks car-pooled, taxied, or walked, often at great inconvenience, the boycott was finally successful; the laws governing Montgomery buslines were changed. Buses could not feature racially-segregated seating, and blacks were to be hired as drivers. This victory marked the beginning of a national movement that would claim a dramatic toll in terms of time, money, energy, and human life before it ended. Though King was assassinated in 1968, the early 70s found nearly every element of U.S.A. society desegregated in terms not only of race but of gender and creed as well. Perhaps, even more importantly, the goals and purposes of nonviolent direct action, as well as its relative success as a method of persuasion, set an example of a method that was utilized by other similar movements to

claim rights for women, the disabled, and people asserting nontraditional gender preferences.

The Question

These two movements, the Indian Independence Movements led by Mahatma Gandhi and the Civil Rights Movement in the U.S.A. under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., are the two most significant examples of widespread non-violent movements for social change in the 20th century. Each is significant in terms of the number of people united and motivated to action in a single embracing cause. Each is significant in the degree of positive results that were allegedly caused by the persuasive methods utilized by the leaders and followers of each movement. Finally, each is significant because these persuasive methods, which were taught by the leaders and used primarily by followers, were nonviolent--nonviolent in situations in which violence, rioting, and civil warfare seemed to many to be the most obvious and expedient means by which to achieve the movement's ends.

Both Gandhi and King believed in the effectiveness of nonviolent protest because of religious and philosophical convictions that all people are innately good. Each believed that basic compassion and a desire to do that which is right were two common characteristics of a "universal audience." Such beliefs prompted both of these charismatic

leaders to develop elaborate philosophies about people, the world, God, right and wrong, and as an ultimate consideration, about the use of nonviolent symbolic action as the most telling persuasive rhetorical method. Not only did Gandhi and King believe this strategy could achieve the desired reforms, but also they believed it did so in a manner which left the dignity of both the movement and the opposition intact.

Acts of violence create bitterness in the survivors and brutality in the destroyers; Satyagraha aims to exalt both sides. (Gandhi, cited in Fischer, 1950, p. 77)

The nonviolent approach does not immediately change the heart of the oppressor. It first does something to the hearts and souls of those committed to it. It gives them new self-respect; it calls up resources of strength and courage that they did not know they had. Finally, it reaches the opponent and so stirs his conscience that reconciliation becomes a reality. (King, 1958, p. 219)

King and Gandhi felt that nonviolent tactics of protest accomplished by words that expressed a conviction in the rightness of their cause and in the ability of the opposition to perceive this rightness could "break through" any barriers between speaker and listeners generally. They believed that such rhetoric would be able to touch a common chord of humanity that they believed to exist in the heart and mind of even the staunchest opponent.

One would like to agree that these idealists were correct in their assessment of their fellow-beings. If nonviolent persuasion through words and symbolic acts is

truly as powerful against any opposition no matter how entrenched and strong, as Gandhi and King believed it to be, then it is obviously a valuable method to effect influence and should be understood, mastered, and utilized. By the great majority of human beings, nonviolence, if effective, would surely be deemed preferable to violent coercive tactics such as rioting, terrorism, and warfare. In the period in which we live, as many feel that our world quakes under shadowy threats of a nuclear holocaust, the prospect of nonviolent persuasion being a possible alternative if not appearing feasible or efficient at first glance, is nevertheless certainly worthy of examination.

Thus, the major issue addressed in this study concerns whether or not nonviolent symbolic action is indeed an effective means of persuasion. Primary questions include the following: 1) What were the results emanating from each movement? Were most of the declared goals met? 2) Can a reasonable causal relationship be drawn between nonviolent strategies and realization of intended purposes or were other factors present in the situation that better explain this realization? Was the opposition predisposed to comply to demands of the movement due to moral reasons primarily, the nonviolent demonstrations notwithstanding, and/or were other causal explanations, perhaps economic or political in nature, more salient? Did the opposition most fear violent reactions as extensions of the nonviolent activity, if

demands were not met? 3) Did the opposition feel pressure from other parties not represented in the protest movements--influential parties commanding attention? 4) In summation, is nonviolent symbolic action effective? If so, to what degree? Why is it effective? Is it effective in any society and under any circumstances? If not, under what culture-characterizing circumstances can it be predicted to be an effective alternative to violent means of coercion?

Secondly, this study includes an analysis of Gandhi and King as primary spokespersons for nonviolence as well as an analysis of major spokespersons representing the opposition to the cause, and an analysis of the strategies of these two nonviolent movements. An analysis of the leaders' predominant verbal rhetoric that accompanied selected significant symbolic acts will serve a three-fold purpose. Primarily, this analysis should reveal major themes and idea formats used to motivate movement followers as well as themes and formats used to persuade the opposition. Such an analysis should also reveal which common higher authorities (i.e., church, state, etc.) were featured in the rhetoric of Gandhi and King. Secondly, a content analysis of the responses from representatives of the opposition should yield information about the opposition's rhetorical strategies, themes, and formats, as well as the opposition's vision of social reality. It should also show what changes occurred in this vision over time as the opposition's view

of social reality was represented by the rhetoric of the movement as being in direct conflict with mandates of an accepted higher authority (i.e., the Bill of Rights, the Gita, etc.).

Finally, a content analysis that compares and contrasts the style and personality traits of two leaders such as Gandhi and King will yield a baseline of information by which to compare the rhetoric of other powerful spokespersons. Such information could be utilized to predict the power and interpret the intention of other charismatic leaders of contemporary movements. This information might also be used to compare the speaking styles and personality traits of leaders of historical movements such as Adolph Hitler, leader of Nazi Germany, to determine whether such leaders have any similarities or significant differences by which to be categorized.

Review of Existing Research

Rhetorical Studies in Intercultural Communication

One of the major problems confronted in a study of this nature is that in an analysis of the rhetoric of movements within and between differing cultures, the critic is often comparing proverbial "apples and oranges." Most rhetorical theory and methodology employed by researchers in our nation is based on Aristotelian, if not more specifically, Western logic, thought patterns, and communication behaviors. How

valid is such rhetorical theory when used to study nonoccidental rhetoric? Can any rhetorical theory or critical perspective be thought of as being universal in scope? An extensive literature review was conducted to find some answers to these questions. Three dissertations dealing with intercultural rhetoric and several essays describing a need for intercultural rhetorical theory development and discussing the problems such theorizing will entail were discovered.

In 1969, Carlson of Northwestern University completed her dissertation entitled "The Kenya Wildlife Conservation Campaign: A Descriptive and Critical Study of Intercultural Persuasion." As the title suggests, Carlson analyzed an unsuccessful campaign by Americans and Europeans to introduce wildlife conservation programs into the country of Kenya. She concluded that the campaign failed for two reasons. First, Western hypotheses about persuasion are invalid in the Kenya culture. Secondly, no attempt was made to "make adjustments to the traditional age-authority customs, tribal taboos, history, or tribal geographical variations" of that culture. She suggests that accurate theory and practice of intercultural communication can be achieved only after a careful analysis and understanding of the values of the "audience" culture.

In 1973, MacDougall of Brigham Young University conducted a study to link value systems to styles of

communication, source credibility and communication attitudes. Value similarity was found to be the transcendent factor in successful communication within and among cultures.

A third dissertation, the 1979 work of Nishida of the University of Minnesota, compared Japanese and American styles of communication. Nishida concluded that Confucian philosophy exerts a stronger influence than any other factor over Japanese values, thinking, and communication. Deeply ingrained national values of "individuality" and "equality" that dominate the U.S.A. thought and a complete absence of Confucian philosophy cause U.S.A. rhetoric to be quite different from Japanese. In U.S.A. rhetoric the speaker most often communicates the importance of the self and the other as individuals. In Japanese rhetoric the speaker communicates the importance of "us" as a joint entity. The U.S.A. spokesperson, therefore, quite often seems egocentric, self-serving, arrogant, abrasive, aggressive, and rude to the Japanese listener. On the other hand, the Japanese speaker to the U.S.A. listener seems self-effacing, wavering, overly polite, and submissive.

Each of these studies provides support for the thesis that cultural differences do cause differences in communication behavior from one culture to another. They also focus on value systems as the key to understanding thought patterns and communication behaviors in any given culture. Therefore, in developing a rhetorical theory of intercultural

communication, the ascertaining of operating value systems within cultures must be a primary factor.

In 1962, Oliver wrote Culture and Communication, a book on effective diplomacy that necessarily deals with intercultural rhetoric. Oliver stresses throughout that there is not "one rhetoric but many rhetorics" and that quite often intercultural rhetoricians take Aristotelian patterns to be rhetoric itself rather than a rhetoric. In such cases, communicators confront audiences of a differing culture with arguments that would be effective only if that audience shared a similar value system with the communicator. Such a communicator is functioning from his or her own value system as though it were the only system. An effective intercultural communicator must consider that topic for discussion through the filter of the audience's cultural value system, building an argument accordingly.

The way the world looks to us is determined in large part by the way in which we have been brought up. . . . People in separate cultures and separate nations are concerned about different problems; and they have different systems for thinking about them. What is important to us is not necessarily important to everyone. Our logic may not be theirs; and our very faith in rationality may be countermatched by their faith in irrationality. What we consider proof of a particular proposition, they may consider irrelevant. (Oliver, 1962, pp. 154-155)

One may correctly conclude from these studies and statements that it is not possible to draw accurate conclusions by analyzing the rhetoric of foreign cultures using rhetorical theory based solely on U.S.A. values or

Western thought and language patterns. Yet, that is not to say that it is impossible to develop theory flexible enough to adapt to differences in speaker and audience cultural backgrounds. Again, the key concern is value systems. It is necessary for an intercultural rhetorical theory to contemplate value systems, thought patterns, and argumentation behaviors as variables, as functioning elements of culture rather than as static or stable elements. Rhetorically to criticize any intercultural or non-U.S.A. interaction, one must, as Carlson stated in her study of the Kenyan culture, gain an understanding of the values of the audience culture through a careful study of that culture. When the speaker or the critic has a working knowledge of the cultural values functioning in a communication interaction, a knowledge of values that shape and are reflected in that communication behavior, then he or she is equipped to develop an effective argument for a specific audience or accurately to analyze the effectiveness of that interaction.

The Indian Independence Movement and the U.S.A. Civil Rights Movement are the subjects of this intercultural rhetorical study. The former is obviously intercultural in nature; the latter, a study of conflict between two distinct subcultures within a larger national categorization. A comparative study of the two movements is also of an intercultural nature. It is important to establish what has already been written about these two movements.

Indian Independence and Civil Rights Movements Research

The only speech communication studies conducted concerning the Indian Independence Movement or the Civil Rights Movement include an article by Merriam (1975) on Gandhi's use of symbolic action and an article by Simons (1967) on patterns of persuasion in the Civil Rights Movement. The first of these is a simple description and interpretation of the symbolic acts utilized by Gandhi in the struggle to aid India in gaining independence from British rule. Merriam identifies acts of fasting, propaganda tours, the Great Salt March, silence, and bonfires, as well as symbols such as spinning wheels and peasant clothing, as elements of non-verbal persuasion. He then interprets the messages conveyed through each nonverbal channel and explains the effect of each on the audience toward whom such messages were directed. In this analysis, Merriam touches briefly upon the phenomenon of cultural myths and the part they play in emphasizing common ground with an audience. Such myths are reflected in symbolic acts with which they have a two-way dynamic relationship. The myths shape the symbolic act, and the symbolic acts confirm the myths. For example, the symbolic act of fasting was highly appropriate for the mixed audience of Indian followers and British opposition. The practice of fasting for religious purification of the body and spirit is an element of traditional Indian and Christian religious practices. Also, hunger, a problem of national

magnitude in India, was a condition which spoke strongly to the heart of the majority of Indian peasants. Therefore, cultural values and conditions shaped the choice of this symbolic act of fasting as well as the way in which it was perceived. In turn, the fact that Gandhi was willing to risk his life in this manner reinforces the cultural religious belief in the saintliness of fasting. Merriam offers important insights into Gandhi's use of symbolic action as an alternative to violent action; however, he does not fully explicate relevant myths of the Indian and British cultures nor their importance to Gandhi, the Indian people, and the British opposition forces.

In the second article, Simons refers to two types of audiences against whom nonviolent symbolic action might be used effectively and ineffectively. The "power vulnerable" group includes persons who will lose either money or public favor as a result of nonviolent protest. For instance, a business owner who is boycotted or a police officer photographed administering unnecessary violent punishment are two "power vulnerables" to symbolic action. The "power invulnerable" group consists of those who have nothing to lose by voicing self-concerns. They have no businesses which might be hurt financially and no public image to keep clean. These are the vast majority of the general public, and Simons theorizes that they can be reached only through "communications aimed at a change in . . . attitudes." This

is an important observation for the study at hand since Gandhi and King saw the primary purpose of nonviolent symbolic action as changing the heart, the attitudes of the opponent. Through changing the individual one can change society.

Along these lines, Simons also identifies two broad categories of persuasion utilized by Negroes in the 60s protests, 1) peaceful persuasion and 2) coercive persuasion. Peaceful persuasion is reasoning aimed at the mind and heart of the listener while coercive persuasion is the inclusion of threat or employment of force such as that used in boycotts, marches, and sit-ins. (Although the term "coercive" implies force, it is force applied to hurt the wallet, the public opinion poll, not the soul or the body of the opponent.) Simons goes on to say that peaceful persuasion is the type taught in the public speaking classroom and textbook. It is effective to the extent that the speaker can analyze the audience correctly and appeal to that audience's needs, desires, and values.

It is axiomatic, we are told, that effective communication requires a shared frame of reference and a common set of symbols in an atmosphere free from fear and threat. By all our scholarly yardsticks, the effectiveness of the civil rights advocates ought to be a direct function of their psychological proximity to white audiences.
(Simons, 1967, p. 26)

In this way Simons recognizes the importance of cultural values in discourse and the importance of knowing an audience in terms of these values. Such recognition of

cultural values is also of utmost importance to the study herein.

Rhetorical Studies about King and Gandhi

In this study King and Gandhi are identical and will be analyzed as the single, primary spokespersons for their respective movements. Much has been written on both in the form of biographical, theological, sociological, anthropological, historical, political, and even psychiatric studies. However, a review of dissertation abstracts and major journals in the field of speech communication uncovers little research within the field of rhetorical criticism that concerns these two significant communicators.

Two studies of Gandhi found in speech journals are the aforementioned article on symbolic action by Merriam and Beatty, Behnke, and Banks' "Elements of Dialogic Communication in Gandhi's Second Round Table Conference Address" (1975). The latter focuses more on the methodology of a dialogic perspective in rhetorical criticism than on Gandhi, his message, or his nonviolent persuasive strategy and offers little insightful information useful to the present study.

Rhetorical studies on King have indeed been more numerous than two but not by a large margin. One study concentrated primarily on the persuasive strategies utilized by King. Simons (1967) characterizes King's ability to analyze

his widely diverse audiences comparing the Baptist minister to a tightrope walker because of his agility in walking a "thin line" when addressing both blacks and whites at one time. Simons speaks of King's direct action tactics as militant enough to appease angry blacks while his doctrine of love won white sympathies. Smith (1967), in his study of King, focused primarily on the distinguishing style of King's oral discourse, noting his "Southern black baptist" delivery. He describes King's rhetoric as filled with striking images such as metaphors, analogies, and with repetition and alliteration. Keele (1972) offers further information on King as a speaker in her dissertation concerning his rhetorical strategies. Keele identifies recurring ideas in King's rhetoric. She theorizes that King intended to inspire the average black audience member to identify with higher ideals and rise above the current operative hierarchy.

All of these studies contribute useful background information for this study on Gandhi and King as rhetoricians. However, it is clear that by no means has study of these two charismatic speakers been exhausted. One final study in which King is one of numerous subjects is of particular instructive value to the purposes of the questions posed by this study. In 1973, Payne completed a dissertation at Florida State University in which he analyzed the speeches of six prominent black spokesmen using

several different content analysis measures not traditionally used in rhetorical criticism. These are measures developed for research in journalism and communication, social psychology, and psycholinguistics and are used to categorize content according to stylistic features or to categorize speakers according to personality traits. The purpose of Payne's study was to establish norms among black spokesmen using these measures that could be used in further comparative research such as that proposed herein. In his introduction, Payne defends his methodology by quoting Redding's 1968 essay "Extrinsic and Intrinsic Criticism." In it Redding recognizes the value of extrinsic data in a rhetorical event (historical, biographical, cultural data, etc.) but urges a shift of emphasis in research to the intrinsic data of content.

The measures used by Payne include syllable and word counts/lengths, sentence count/length, Type-Token Ratio, Adjective-Verb Quotient, Flesch's Reading Ease Scores, Flesch's Human Interest Scores, Discomfort-Relief Quotient, and Gleser-Gottschalk Anxiety Scales.

Features of style that have been measured are represented in syllable, word, and sentence counts and measures of length as well as counts of punctuation types. These measures are usually taken by diagramming a frequency distribution of one-word, two-word, three-word, etc. sentences and similarly one-syllable, two-syllable,

three-syllable, etc. words in selected passages. Punctuation marks are recorded according to relative frequency of occurrence per one thousand marks. Comparison studies have revealed stylistic differences between authors, between time periods, between types of speeches, and between speeches of one source over time.

The Type-Token Ratio is another quantitative speech measure. It is designed to determine the diversity of a person's vocabulary by counting the number of different words (types) utilized by a source and then dividing that number by the total number of words (tokens) in the passage examined.

$$\text{Vocabulary Diversity} = \frac{\text{Type}}{\text{Token}}$$

Variations of the Type-Token Ratio (TTR) are the mean segmental TTR, the cumulative TTR, and the decremental TTR. The mean segmental TTR is calculated by dividing the word sample into segments of equal length (number of words), determining the TTR for each segment, and then finding the mean TTR for the entire sample. Cumulative TTR is represented by a curve that shows successive TTR's measured at various points in the sample. In the decremental TTR, however, the passage is divided into segments of equal length, and the number of words per segment is divided into the number of new words in the passage which first appear in

that segment. The Adjective-Verb Quotient (AVQ) originated with a German researcher, Busemann, in 1925 and was used in the same year by an American, Boder. This method is conducted by dividing language into two categories: "qualitative" and "active." The qualitative or adjective category includes adjectives, nouns, and verb participles when used as descriptors of nouns. Into the "active" or verb category are placed all verbs with the exception of auxiliary verbs. By dividing the number of active words by the number of qualitative words in a given passage, the AVQ measure can be obtained. Busemann (1925, cited in Boder, 1940) and also Stern and Rorschach (1925, cited in Boder, 1940) used AVQ to measure emotional stability of speakers. Boder (1940) borrowed from the fields of psychology, psychiatry, and psycholinguistics to produce a baseline AVQ for styles in various types of communication: legal, scientific, and fictional writing. The AVQ can be used to establish stylistic modes and to compare and contrast the various writings of one individual, similar writings of two individuals, and different types of writing.

Flesch's Reading Ease Score was devised as a method to measure linguistic complexity and readability/listenability of a particular 100-word passage. Flesch's Reading Ease Score is calculated by finding the average sentence length (sl) and the average word length (wl) of a passage and placing these figures in the formula

$$\text{FRES} = 206.835 - .846w_1 - 1.015s_1$$

Norms for FRES are as follows:

<u>DEGREE OF EASE</u>	(<u>s</u> ₁)	(<u>w</u> ₁)
EASY	8 or fewer	123 or fewer
FAIRLY EASY	11	131
STANDARD	14	139
FAIRLY DIFFICULT	17	147
DIFFICULT	21	153
VERY DIFFICULT	29 or more	192 or more

Not only can this formula be used to establish listenability/readability of a passage but it can also be used to establish categories for types of word-production based on FRES norms. For instance, Flesch established readability score norms for types of magazines with comics scoring highest and scientific journals scoring lowest in level of readability.

Flesch also devised a formula to quantify the level of "human interest" contained in a given passage (1960). As in the Reading Ease calculations, the passage is divided into 100-word sections. The number of personal words (pw) and personal sentences (ps) in each segment are then counted. Flesch defines personal words as a) all first-, second-, and third-person pronouns, except neuter pronouns if not used in reference to people, b) all words having masculine or feminine natural gender, and c) group words such as "people" and "family." Personal sentences are those which a) include spoken sentences marked as quotations,

b) are questions, commands, requests, and sentences directed to the reader or listener, c) are exclamations, or d) are grammatically incorrect sentences of which the full meaning must be taken in the context of the passage. The percentages of personal words and personal sentences are substituted in the following formula:

$$\text{Human Interest (H.I.)} = 3.63(\text{pw}) + .314(\text{ps})$$

<u>EVALUATION</u>	<u>% of pw</u>	<u>% of ps</u>
DULL	2 or less	0
MILDLY INTERESTING	4	5
INTERESTING	5	15
HIGHLY INTERESTING	10	43
DRAMATIC	17 or more	58 or more

Several content measures give information about the level of stress or anxiety present in the source of the message. One of these measures is the Dollard-Mowrer tension index or Discomfort-Relief Quotient (DRQ) (Dollard & Mowrer, 1947). The unit of analysis for this measure can be clauses, thought-units, sentences, paragraphs, pages or words. Units are analyzed and categorized as discomfort or relief units. "Discomfort units" refer to suffering, pain, distress, etc., while "relief units" refer to comfort, happiness, enjoyment, etc. Other units are disregarded. The DRQ formula is

$$\text{DRQ} = \frac{\text{Discomfort Units}}{\text{Discomfort Units} + \text{Relief Units}}$$

The Gottschalk-Gleser Anxiety Scale (AX) measures "free anxiety," which includes only the psychological manifestations of anxiety as revealed in language (Gottschalk, Winget, & Gleser, 1969). Anxiety is classified into six subtypes which include 1) death, 2) mutilation or castration, 3) separation, 4) guilt, 5) shame, and 6) diffuse or nonspecific anxiety. Output in each category is weighted according to whether the reference is to the self (3), an animate other (2), or an inanimate other (1). A denial of anxiety is given a weight of 1 (1). The scoring unit is the thought unit or sentence clause. Units are coded according to subtype and weight. Once coded, the scores are totalled, and this sum is divided by the total number of words. The product obtained is then multiplied by 100 to attain a "raw anxiety score." The square root of the raw score is used for norms, comparisons, and inferences.

Three separate measures are derived from the Anxiety Scale. They are the Hostility Directed Inward Scale (HI), Hostility Directed Outward Scale (HO), and Ambivalent Hostility Scale (HA).

The HI scale measures self-critical and self-destructive thoughts. Thought units are coded and weighted according to a classification of 11 thematic categories which range from references about feeling driven to meet one's own expectations to references about suicide. The HO scale measures critical or destructive thoughts toward others.

Twenty-five weighted thematic categories are used to code thought units. These range in seriousness from references to abusive language to references about murder. The 25 categories are further differentiated according to the overtness or covertness of outwardly hostile thoughts. Overtly hostile classifications include those units which refer to hostile acts committed by the speaker toward others while covertly hostile classifications include references to hostile acts committed by others against self. The HA scale measures the intensity of units expressing destructive actions of others against themselves. Eight thematic categories for coding units range from items referring to others denying blame to others killing or threatening to kill themselves.

Another formula devised by Flesch (1960) measures the level of abstraction in a text. The total number of words in the text is divided into the total number of definite words. This quotient is then multiplied by 100. "Definite words" include natural gender nouns, nouns denoting time, numeral adjectives, finite verb forms, present participles, personal pronouns, the definite article and the words "yes," "no," "here," "then," "there," "that," "these," "those," "now," "who," "whom," "when," "where," "why," "how," "this," "each," "same," "both," "what," and "which."

Finally, the Gunning-Fog Index (GFI), similar to Flesch's Reading Ease Scale, is based on sentence length and

number of polysyllabic words (Gunning, 1968). Polysyllabic words are defined as those of three or more syllables which are not capitalized nor are compound or hyphenated words such as "bookkeeper." Verbs of which the third syllable is a simple suffix such as "ed," or "es" are also excluded. The GFI formula is

$$\text{GFI} = \text{Ave. Sentence Length} + \text{Polysyllabic Words} (0.4)$$

As mentioned earlier, the content and style measurement tools listed and described above were not initially devised for the purpose of rhetorical criticism. Originating from diverse fields of inquiry, their usefulness to rhetorical critics is slowly and only now being discovered. Payne used these measures to establish norms of style and personality traits among prominent black spokesmen in the United States of America during the 20th century. Although in his single-page review of literature he states that no other critical studies had utilized the above-mentioned content-analytic techniques, at least one such study was in fact previously conducted. In 1965, Gwin used the Type-Token Ratio and Adjective-Verb Quotient in an analysis of the speeches of Henry Cabot Lodge, Sr. Gwin chose this type analysis to test the hypothesis that Lodge's feelings about the president of the United States were manifested in his speeches.

In 1973, Day used syllable/word/sentence counts, TTR, AVQ, DRQ, FRES, and HIS to establish norms and to identify trends in the inaugural addresses of Florida's 34 governors. She established that speakers in the 20th century tend to be more "listenable" and more interesting.

Lower in 1974 employed the TTR, DRQ, FRES, GFI, FHIS, and Gleser-Gottschalk anxiety scales in an analysis of the speeches of Julian Bond. Lower hypothesized that Bond's speeches would not vary significantly from the norms established by Payne in his 1973 study. In 1980, Evans analyzed speeches of black students enrolled in public speaking courses at one predominantly black university and one predominantly white university. Speech samples were coded for the following stylistic variables: word length, sentence length, segmental TTR, AVQ, FRES, FHIS, and nonfluencies. Significant differences between the two samples on mean word length, mean sentence length, and reading ease were found.

One major purpose of this dissertation is to compare and contrast King and Gandhi's speaking styles and personality traits as revealed in their speeches. Payne's study and methodology therein comprise a workable model to use in searching for similarities and significant differences between the two leaders. However, since only speeches of King and Gandhi will be analyzed and none of their written rhetoric, it can be argued that the Flesch Readability Yardstick (1960) and the Gunning-Fog Index (1968) are not

necessarily valid measures for the purposes of this study. It is true that in all the previously mentioned studies these two measures were used to analyze spoken messages. However, the two scales were originally developed for written messages. It is questionable that a passage that may be read with general ease may also be heard with the same ease and level of comprehension. DeVito (1984), in his text on public speaking, reminds the novice public speaker that "oral style" differs from written style. It must necessarily be more simplistic because of the nature of the communication situation. The reader may read at a self-imposed rate while a listener must comprehend at the rate chosen by the speaker. Also, the spoken message is given once and is gone (unless tape-recorded, of course) while the written message may be reread as many times as is needed for clear meaning to be obtained. Students and teachers of foreign languages can attest that reading an unfamiliar language is much easier than listening to it in terms of understanding what is being communicated. The receiver of written messages also does not have to contend with channel disturbances such as low voice, a heavy accent, outside noise, or unfamiliar pronunciations. Therefore, a sample of spoken words may be categorized as easy to listen to when what is really true is that, if written, they might be read and comprehended with ease. In order for the Flesch Reading Ease Score and the Gunning-Fog Index to be valid for spoken messages, another

set of categories must be established specifically for spoken communication. These two measures will not be used in the analyses of the speeches of Gandhi and King in the study at hand.

Research on the Use of Nonviolence as a Persuasive Device

Much has been written on the use of nonviolence as a strategy to change society. In fact, journals such as Conflict Resolution and the Journal of Peace Research including articles on the use of nonviolence are published quarterly. Numerous books including the works of King and Gandhi have been written on the subject, and almost all works by other authors refer to Gandhi and/or King as philosophers of and practitioners of nonviolent action.

Gene Sharp has probably produced the greatest amount of literature dealing with the nature and efficacy of non-violence and ways in which this strategy for changing society might be analyzed, categorized, and improved upon. In Social Power and Political Freedom, Sharp (1980) recognizes the importance of effective communication channels within the movement to that movement's strength and stamina. He also theorizes about the reasons that non-violent persuasion works against very powerful opponents, describing an effect of the strategy which he terms "political jiu-jitsu." Jiu-jitsu is a martial art in which the strength of the opponent is used against that opponent. The

practitioner of nonviolent action increases his or her ability to evoke sympathy when the opposition intensifies its repression. If the resisters can demonstrate courage and the willingness to persist when the opposing power is at its most unjust, most brutally violent, then they can turn the power of the opposition to their advantage. Such willingness on the part of resisters to endure hardships, financial and physical, sometimes to the point of martyrdom, has the potential to inspire others to resist the opposition as well. As a movement gains momentum, the sheer numbers of the noncooperative will be enough to immobilize a society.

Sharp continues by stating that the means and the ends of a successful nonviolent organization are to strengthen the oppressed within the society. He argues that a violent oppressor depends upon centralized governing and strong leaders to carry out orders and violent tactics in a military-like, unquestioning fashion. The nonviolent organization, on the other hand, although leaders will emerge, must depend on the individual resolve and strength of each member to resist and sacrifice in the face of terrible forces. The oppressor depends on its ability to coerce cooperation from the oppressed. If the oppressed can steel itself to noncooperation, it relieves the oppressor of much of its power. Sharp, like Gandhi and, later, King, sees the primary aim of nonviolent action as not to attack the oppressor but rather to strengthen the oppressed and

cites ways in which the philosophy and action of nonviolence strengthens a people. It gives a people self-respect, strengthens their institutions and gives them the ability to act with solidarity.

Often--though not always--as people begin to act, the qualities of courage, willingness to serve others, and concern about the social and political evils around them grow within themselves. Further, their example often helps others to gain these qualities. This, along with other results of nonviolent action, helps to improve that society's capacity for freedom. (Sharp, 1980, p. 174)

Sharp also cites examples of intergroup communication which may strengthen a nonviolent movement. It is important to disseminate knowledge on the philosophy and practical application of nonviolent action, how to organize for group action, and how to respond to violent opposition. Also, it is helpful for the group to be aware of what others have done elsewhere in difficult situations and to witness the example of some people among themselves resisting the opposition. The group needs to be given a list of small things that are within their capabilities to do in daily resistance.

From this, one can see that interpersonal communication effectiveness within the nonviolent oppressed organization is more important than it is within the violent oppressing organization. The latter is based on one-way communication of orders from higher levels to lower levels while the former depends on cooperation derived from multichanneled

expressions of beliefs, philosophies, and personal conviction.

In his book on nonviolence and how it works, Bruyn and Rayman (1979) highlights the importance of analyzing communication channels and messages to understand how nonviolent methods work. He makes several important points about communication in nonviolent movements. First of all, he stresses that nonverbal communication is just as important as verbal in expressing nonviolent arguments. He hypothesizes that a good intergroup communication system is a prerequisite for committed widespread resistance and that the more clearly actionists communicate in a nonthreatening manner, the more likely it is that opponents will respond in like fashion.

In the same article, Bruyn outlines a symbolic interaction theory of nonviolent action. Simply stated the theory is that people generally believe that the daily widely-accepted subjective view of "reality" is reality until a new definition of the situation is introduced and explained to them. The causes of violence can be mitigated by the introduction of new symbols of power in nonviolent action.

Another essay by Sharp (1959b) deals specifically with the efficacy of the nonviolent strategy as used by Gandhi. In it Sharp concludes that nonviolence is not an always workable strategy and that it was effective in India only because the conditions were conducive to its use there in

the years between 1918 and 1948. The two major conditions which facilitated the effectiveness of nonviolent action were that the British were heavily armed oppressors few in number against the unarmed but burgeoning Indian population. Working together, the sheer number of noncooperative resisters was enough to overwhelm the social order, to paralyze the workings of British rule, and to make measures of punishment unfeasible. Also, the British represented an audience to whom the moral symbolism behind nonviolence would be appealing. Their Christian sympathies and national pride in "fair play" and democratic principles were stronger than their racial prejudices and hunger for wealth and power. Sharp projects that a Nazi colonial rule in India would not have facilitated a nonviolent movement since it would not have permitted a group of intellectuals to grow and become visible and vocal enough to organize themselves in a movement against the regime.

Enholm in his 1975 dissertation on critical moments in the German Resistance Movement notes the distinctions between movements taking place in democratic and totalitarian social orders. He implies that a democracy allows an amount of overt conflict between groups and even opposition to the group in power. In a totalitarian government conflict must remain covert, for the system does not allow it. Action and communication by and between would-be movement

followers is restricted if possible at all, and resistance to change in the established order is greater.

For in a totalitarian state, established orders do not crumble at the sound of the rhetorician's voice. Instead--but in no way less rhetorical--violence must be employed. (Enholt, 1975, p. xix)

Like Sharp, he views the effectiveness of nonviolent rhetoric as a function of the situation and the nature of the opposition.

A series of articles by Bowen (1963a, 1963b, 1967) results in similar conclusions about the Civil Rights Movement in the U.S.A. Written in the 60s in the midst of this movement, Bowen's articles reflect his concern about the realistic measure of the efficacy of nonviolent persuasion. In his first article, Bowen states that nonviolent persuasion is effective only if other "powerful social, economic, and political forces admire and aid the cause and its people." Although he recognizes the moral force of nonviolence as it reflects basic religious and national values of U.S.A. citizens, he again concludes in his second article that its effectiveness is not inherent but dependent on other forces.

Nonviolence is no panacea, despite theoretical claims made for it. The technique cannot compel Southern whites to surrender their own beliefs if they do not recognize the humanity of either the resisters or their cause. (Bowen, 1963b, p. 3)

In his final essay (1967) he identifies four assumptions of nonviolent protesters which he argues are not necessarily valid. They assume that dramatizing a common

bond between themselves and their opponents will reform those opponents; resisters love and sympathize with enemies who attack them; willing suffering will bond fellow-sufferers, appeal to third parties, and persuade the opposition; nonviolence attaches a moral aura to any cause. Bowen seems to imply throughout his articles that many proponents of nonviolence are idealistic and believe the strategy works because of some "holy" aspect which it bestows on a cause making it difficult to oppose. It automatically causes its users to be in the right. He states that it is possible to use nonviolent resistance to institute changes which are not necessarily good or ethical changes. He, like Sharp and Enholm, argues that some cultures do not respect a display of love as much as a display of force.

Responding to King's assassination, Shepherd (1968) wrote in a commentary for Africa Today that the means of nonviolence are not for this world at all and that it appeals only to a very limited audience. In the Journal of the History of Ideas Steinkraus (1973) in a study of King's philosophy stated that the philosophy and enactment of nonviolent resistance is ethical but not expedient. He admits that suffering is more powerful than violence in converting an opponent, but if change and motivation to act are the primary goals of the movement, then nonviolence is not a practical method and not the best strategy to use.

Each of these studies sheds light on the inquiry at hand and also raises a further question to be answered at this point. If one is to evaluate the effectiveness of a strategy, one must know what the primary goal of the strategy truly was. Gandhi and King both defended non-violent tactics as the best rhetorical method primarily on moral grounds. Not only did nonviolence not inflict spiritual or bodily injury on an opponent, but these two proponents believed that it purified, enriched, changed the resister and the opposition to better people. Yet, they were also concerned with the more "practical" results in the forms of legislated changes in societal practices. The concern of this study is with the efficacy of nonviolence in terms of these more practical results.

Movement Studies

The study presented here is one in which the rhetoric of two movements is being analyzed. The concern is not primarily a single speech given by a single speaker to a single audience defined by one time and location. The lens of the movement critic's "camera" is set at a wider angle for the most part than that of the critic of single speeches and speakers. Therefore, the methodology chosen for a movement study must reflect these differences and adapt to this multiplicity of speakers, listeners, channels, messages, and situations over time.

Rhetorical studies of social movements represent a relatively recent development in rhetorical criticism. Griffin's (1952) seminal article, "The Rhetoric of Historical Movements," was first to set forth the purpose for, the theory behind, and a methodology for investigations of historical movements. Griffin theorized that each movement involves a two-sided conflict in which aggressor rhetoricians and defendant rhetoricians must be identified. Also, three vital stages in movements may be isolated for analysis: the period of inception, the period of rhetorical crisis, and the period of consummation. This perspective was a departure from the traditional speaker-centered approach to rhetorical criticism. However, Brock and Scott, quoting from Griffin, state that Griffin's innovation in critical investigation

was not radical because he maintained an historical orientation; he recommended isolating the rhetorical movement within the matrix of the historical movement. Yet this shift in emphasis to conceive histories "in terms of movements rather than individuals" is significant and led to what has become a major effort of rhetorical criticism in the 1960's and 1970's. (Brock & Scott, 1982, p. 397)

Griffin defended this focus on the movement as a whole rather than on the individual representative by stating that in looking at a broader rhetorical event than that of the individual giving a single speech

we may come closer to discovering the degree of validity in our fundamental assumption: that rhetoric has had and does have a vital function as

a shaping agent in human affairs. (Griffin, 1952, p. 188)

It is easy to understand that a series of rhetorical events would have a greater impact than a single event on the society in which it transpires.

Griffin suggests that the student of a movement study should begin by reading secondary sources of the movement. Once this is completed and the student has a working knowledge of the historical, political, sociological, religious, and cultural factors in which the movement originated and grew, then the student should begin readings of movement rhetoric from primary sources. Such reading should be done in chronological order so that the student can become acquainted with movement discourse as it developed. In this way, there is a better chance that one can determine the origin of fundamental issues, the development of appeals and counter-appeals surrounding these issues, and the modification of these issues and appeals as they are found to be successful or unsuccessful.

The critic will also become familiar with the major spokespersons within the movement and opposition to the movement and will be able to identify favorite styles and arguments of each as well as ways in which they are modified and adjusted according to the perceived effectiveness they have in persuading the opposing forces. The critic should also identify and study as many available communication channels as possible, not just speeches, but pamphlets,

banners, buttons, radio, t.v., magazines, periodicals, as well as the way in which the movement is reflected through art, clothing, etc.

Finally, Griffin states that the movement should be evaluated for its effectiveness. Griffin has already suggested that a situational awareness is important to the critic when he states the first step the critic takes is to have an understanding of the various societal forces at work before and during the movement. He more clearly states this need for the critic to step outside or beyond his or her own values when he explains how the critic should assess the rhetorical effectiveness of a movement.

The critic will operate within the climate of theory of rhetoric and public opinion in which the speakers and writers he judges were reared, and in which they practiced. In other words, that he will measure practice in terms of the theories available, not to himself, but to the speakers and writers whom he judges. (Griffin, 1952, p. 187)

It may be supposed that Griffin is still speaking in terms of Aristotelian rhetorical principles and their differences according to place and time. Yet, this guideline can be expanded to include the evaluation of rhetorical effectiveness within other cultures. Again, the first step for the critic is to study that culture until a working knowledge is developed of situational variables and culturally-based rhetorical values which are functioning throughout a communication event.

Most of the movement studies appearing in communication journals and as theses and dissertations utilized Griffin's classical historical approach. However, in 1969, Griffin suggested yet another approach to the study of social movements. He wrote that Kenneth Burke's dramatistic method used in literary criticism is useful to the rhetorical critic as well because it allows a clearer understanding of the motivations behind the operation of identifiable rhetorical strategies within movements. Hochmuth-Nichols (1952) had already adapted Burke's pentad and critical theory to the purposes of the rhetorical critic. Griffin took this adaptation a step further, applying it to the analysis of a series of rhetorical events. In viewing a movement in terms of the Act (what was done), Agent (who did it), Agency (how done), Scene (where and when), and Purpose (why), the critic concentrates on the psychological environment in which the speaker and audience are functioning, their attitudes concerning the major elements of the interaction as revealed by their communication behavior: their motives.

One method for identifying speaker and audience attitudes is through a content analysis of verbal rhetoric as conducted in a dramatistic analysis. In this analysis, the critic focuses on language as the starting point. He or she argues a direct relationship between speaker discourse and speaker attitudes and motives. Therefore, an analysis of

movement discourse should reveal the motives and attitudes of leaders as well as followers. Such an analysis is based primarily on two Burkean concepts. One is the earlier-described pentad and the other is the concept of "identification."

Through discourse, the speaker constructs his or her view of reality. In using the dramatistic method, the critic reconstructs that view by isolating and labeling the pentadic elements as they occur and are emphasized through the words of the speaker. For instance, a speaker may believe that the Scene is the most salient aspect of the situation at hand. In a social movement, a speaker's rhetoric may reflect that speaker's belief that components of the Scene (place, time, etc.) are the most significant causes of the present conditions and are, therefore, the component which needs the most change as a causal factor in the present social reality. Through the understanding gained by this reconstruction of the speaker's view of the world, events, people, etc., the critic can more clearly understand the speaker's attitudes and motives which guide communication behavior.

The second concept, that of identification, concerns the audience's view of social reality. The speaker, through discourse, not only presents a personal view of reality but attempts to persuade the audience that this view is accurate and should be shared by that audience. "To the extent that

the audience accepts and rejects the same ideas, people, and institutions that the speaker does, identification occurs" (Brock & Scott, 1982, p. 352), and the discourse is likely to be effective.

Burke suggests that the critic can isolate the language which reveals the pentadic elements of a speaker's reality and the common ground elements with which the speaker seeks audience identification. To do so, the critic must list recurring words, phrases, and themes in a chronological schema until a sense of a pattern and predominant strategies of persuasion can be recognized and labeled.

Another methodology which focuses on words as representatives of attitudes and motives is Bormann's Fantasy Theme Analysis (Borman, 1972). The critic is concerned equally with social reality revealed through discourse from audience members, as well as from primary speakers to audience members. As in the Burkean analysis, the critic gleans from discourse recurring words, phrases, and themes. Moreover, the critic traces the transformation of social reality as revealed in the transformation of these words, phrases, and themes as they occur, are rebutted, modified, or enlarged upon through consequent listener and speaker interactions. The critic also takes special notice of the manner in which various sources and channels of discourse representing divergent views of social reality influence one another's views and finally shape what becomes the most widely-shared

and powerful view. This view is the one that will most highly influence the outcome of the movement.

A final methodology which is also concerned with the construction of social reality through communication interaction, is appropriately named the Social Reality Approach (Brock & Scott, 1982). Unlike the dramatistic critic who analyzes discourse to reconstruct the reality as viewed by speaker and listener, the critic using the Social Reality methodology focuses instead on the artifacts of popular culture (frequently the mass media) in order to reconstruct a culturally-shared reality based on culturally-shared values. Primarily, the objective of this approach is to gain insight into the two-way relationship between society and cultural artifacts as channels of communication in the belief that values expressed throughout popular culture shape and are shaped by societal values. The critic observes the attitudes and motives governing changes in society through the representations of social reality and the attitudes and motives governing it.

A more recent methodology is presented in a 1980 essay "Coming to Terms with Movement Studies." In this writing, Lucas looks at the "intrinsically kinetic nature of movement rhetoric" but states that such rhetoric should be studied in a chronological order since it is not a static entity but a changing phenomenon influenced by many factors over time. These factors are what he refers to when he states that

rhetoric is not the only thing that moves in a movement. "Charting the temporal permutations" of rhetoric is only the first step in an analysis of social movements; the critic must go one step further and chart the temporal permutations of situational variables surrounding that rhetoric such as institutional arrangements, socioeconomic structures, technological developments, demographic patterns, environmental conditions, and channels of communication as well as changes in opinions, beliefs, and values. He divides these other changing elements which influence and are influenced by movement rhetoric into three broad categories:

Social movements arise out of and are shaped by the dynamic interaction of multifarious and effervescent forces. . . . I shall focus on three: objective material conditions, rhetorical discourse, and the perceptions, attitudes, and values--the "consciousness" held by the members. (Lucas, 1980, p. 263)

This categorization helps the critic to organize thoughts and analyze an overwhelming number of interacting elements through grouping them into clusters under these primary headings. Lucas posits that the clearest understanding of movement rhetoric is gained in this manner by assaying how the metamorphosis of movement discourse functions in response to emerging exigencies from within and without the movement as well as how situational variables and social attitudes change in response to movement discourse.

Each of the methodologies for the study of movements described above is instructive in formulating a means by which to answer the questions posed by this study. Griffin offers first a rationale for the study of movements in order to understand the process of societal change. He also recognizes the importance of understanding primarily the situational variables, the background information, surrounding the movement before an understanding of the movement can be gained.

One of the main questions asked in the present study concerns the view of social reality of movement leaders, movement followers, and of the opposition. How did these, social realities conflict? How did they interact, influence, modify one another? The dramatistic methodology, using the elements of the pentad and of identification, suggests a manner in which one might analyze the speeches of major representatives of the movement and the opposition. Fantasy Theme Analysis suggests a means to reconstruct the social reality of movement followers and to trace the manner in which it alters. Social Reality approach to movement studies offers a manner by which to reconstruct the rhetorical vision communicated through the artifacts of the movement.

Finally, Lucas offers a categorization of the many influential variables which influence the communication within a movement and its effectiveness. Utilizing his

framework, the critic can more easily organize and cope with a great number of significant communication channels within and between the movement and opposition groups.

Methodology for the Present Study

All the questions dealt with in this study revolve around the persuasiveness of nonviolent communication and the condition under which nonviolent symbolic action is an effective tool. The rhetorical perspectives and critical methodologies described in the preceding section are primarily designed to use in the study of Aristotelian-based rhetorical systems and within historical movements. As such, any would be a valid choice of method by which to analyze the Civil Rights Movement in the U.S.A. Yet, a study of the Indian Independence Movement involves a consideration of nonoccidental rhetoric, values, philosophy, and thought processes. Also, the primary objective of this study is to find a valid methodology by which to analyze contemporary movements in any culture in order to predict the effectiveness of nonviolent direct action as a persuasive strategy in that given situation rather than explicating effectiveness in historical studies.

To address the first problem, the analysis of the Indian Independence Movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the author argues that the critic, by taking Carlson's (1969) and Griffin's (1952) advice, must study the

culture in question until a working knowledge exists in the mind of the critic of that culture's value system and the ways in which it is manifested in communication behavior. Study of political, economic, social, technological, religious, philosophical, and historical conditions surrounding and influencing culturally-shared values must be conducted. Proceeding from this base of knowledge, the critic may then adapt U.S.A.-based methodologies to compensate for cultural diversity. The most important guideline is as Oliver (1962) stated, "Our logic may not be theirs," or in fact logic may not play a large part in another culture's rhetoric at all. Therefore, one of the first steps in the methodology for this study is to examine all of Lucas's "multifarious and effervescent forces" for the U.S.A. black and white cultures and for the Indian and British cultures in the time periods of these two movements.

In Chapter Two, a theory developed by the author will be described and discussed. It will be argued that the Nonviolent Efficacy Theory identifies most of the significant variables present in a society achieving intergroup conflict and that the theory also presents explanations for the ways in which these variables affect and interact with one another and to what extent. Key terms will be defined, basic theoretical premises, hypotheses, a path model, and theoretical definitions will be discussed. Operational

definitions and linkages offer a means by which a researcher may predict the feasibility of using nonviolent persuasion in a given conflict situation and also estimate the appropriateness of its use with a social setting of the past.

In Chapter Three the Nonviolent Efficacy Theory will be used to analyze the Indian Independence Movement and the U.S.A. Civil Rights Movement as two conflict situations in which nonviolence was used successfully. A description and discussion of culturally based rhetorical values functioning in India and the U.S.A. will be the first step in this analysis. Dramatistic, Fantasy Theme, and Social Reality analyses will be utilized in reconstruction of the rhetorical visions of movement leaders, movement followers, and movement opposition. In this way, an understanding of how nonviolent symbolic action and verbal rhetoric were effective in these two situations may be reached by tracing the changing rhetorical visions of each group as they conflict, interact, and modify each other.

Chapter Four will contain content analyses of five selected speeches of King and Gandhi. The focus of the study will shift from the movement rhetoric to the rhetoric of the movement leaders as the communicator styles and personality traits of the two primary spokesmen of the movements in question are compared and contrasted. Such a shift is justifiable in movements in which the leader plays so large a role in shaping the goals and the strategies of

so large a group. Identifying the similarities and significant differences of leaders' personalities and rhetoric in two successful movements using nonviolence may reveal elements in leadership variables necessary to such success. Analyses to describe communicator style will be word and sentence counts, Type-Token ratio, Adjective-Verb Quotients, and Flesch Human Interest Scores. Analyses to determine leadership personality traits as revealed through speech will include Discomfort-Relief Quotient, Gottschalk-Gleser Anxiety Scales, and Markel's (1986) Interpersonal and Intrapersonal Relations Scale adapted from Gottschalk's Social Orientation Scale. In the concluding chapter the major findings of the study will be reviewed, problems with the study will be discussed, and suggestions for future research will be presented.

CHAPTER TWO
NONVIOLENT EFFICACY THEORY:
INTRODUCTION TO A METHOD FOR ANALYZING RHETORICAL OPTIONS
FOR THE PLANNERS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The theory of nonviolent rhetoric and symbolic action presented in this section is derived from a mingling of several diverse communication as well as sociological theories. The impetus for developing this theory was a desire to be able to project whether the many circumstances surrounding a given social movement are conducive to an effective utilization of nonviolent symbolic action and rhetoric to achieve the ends sought by movement leaders and followers. Such projections could be useful in historical studies of past movements as well as useful in predicting the efficacy of nonviolent strategies in contemporary movements. Nonviolent Efficacy Theory (NVET) draws from Korzybski's theory of General Semantics (1958), the rhetorical theories of social reality, dramatism, and fantasy theme analysis, Gordon's theory of minority-majority group relations (1964), and from general theories of persuasion.

In his work in General Semantics, Korzybski explained that much confusion, or "un-sanity", is caused by the fact that people do not realize that their "maps"--their perceived subjective ideas about the world around them--are

simply that: maps. The "territory" is the objective reality set apart from these maps. While maps are helpful and even necessary guides, they should not be clutched doggedly when obviously in direct conflict with "life facts" or the "territory."

For example, a person planning to travel from Town A to Town B may look at a map and determine that traveling a state road may be 45 miles shorter than taking an interstate and, therefore, is the most efficient route to take in terms of time. A traveling companion may argue that even though the difference in actual mileage is greater, the interstate is most time-efficient. However, the driver is not persuaded, so the two start out along the state road. Two-lane traffic, many slow local drivers, many small towns with lower speed zones, and general bad road conditions impede the travelers' progress so that time of arrival in Town B is later than planned by an hour. The passenger expects the driver, through having experienced the life facts of traveling on a state road, to adjust his or her ideas, his or her map, about which route is faster. However, much to the passenger's aggravation, the driver argues that the circumstances were unusual; the road is usually not that crowded; a bit of rain had slowed the travelers down; and at any rate the highway would not have been faster even if it had not been slower. The driver through language is changing the perception of the life facts so that they continue

to fit his or her map, the map that clearly shows that the state road is the most time-efficient route. The two travelers end up traveling back by the same route and again end up being later to arrive than expected. It is easy to imagine the passenger relating the story to a third party and saying something such as "John (or Mary) made me so mad--just insisted that old state road was faster than the interstate! Just so hard-headed and won't admit to being wrong!" Even in unimportant cases such as this hypothetical one, people often find it easier to alter their perceptions of life facts to fit their map of what they expect life facts to be than to alter the map in their heads to fit their encounters with those life facts.

In his book Symbol, Status, and Personality, Hayakawa (1963) discusses this human tendency to trust one's mental verbal maps of the world rather than to trust the actual experienced, nonverbal encounter with it. He defines Korzybski's term "intensional orientation" by saying that it is "the habit of orienting oneself by means of words to the more or less complete exclusion of a consideration for what the words stand for" (p. 113).

Johnson (1972), another interpreter of Korzybski, continues along these lines by stating that not only is the mind-set of intensional orientation a pervasive human tendency, but that it is one with far-reaching effects. It causes changes to be slow, even when they are for the

better, and problems to go unresolved. It engenders a reluctance to change maps, beliefs, theories, and policies, even when they are in direct contradiction with reality.

In contrast, Hayakawa then goes on to explain the opposite mindset or what Korzybski refers to as "extensional orientation." This is the "habit of orienting oneself in terms of the nonverbal realities . . . to which words are often an imperfect guide and from which we are too often shielded by verbal smoke screens" (p. 113). It is easy to understand, therefore, that in rhetorical confrontation, verbal messages which do not meet an audience's map are much less disturbing than nonverbal messages that do not meet the map. Although it is possible for words to be very powerful and alone to cause changes in maps, they are still more easily adjusted and scoffed at than nonverbal messages since words are symbolic representations of the speaker's maps. (Words alone are usually effective when an audience may be considered moderate or to have a predisposition, religious or social awareness or sensitivity, or economic or political needs, to side with the speaker.) Referring once more to Johnson (1946), he speaks of extensionalism as a state of being attuned to nonverbal levels of information sources. He writes that these nonverbal levels are from what our verbal abstractions are derived and against which we may test and evaluate our maps of reality. Adequate evaluation depends upon constant gathering of data through nonverbal "having of

experiences" which allow a person to test the accuracy of verbal mental beliefs and assumptions, what Johnson calls "continuous testing of one's knowledge against nonverbal experience or 'hard facts'" (1946, p. 203).

Yet most people will avoid gathering data or having experiences if the information thus received contradicts already formed beliefs. According to Hayakawa, we all suppress to some degree that information which we do not choose to face. Therefore, even though nonverbal messages designed to persuade a listener that a given map is inaccurate will be less easy to ignore or rationalize than similar verbal messages, the rhetorician is still faced with the problem of message avoidance on the part of the listener.

Symbolic action, then, in order to be effective must be so designed that it will thrust an unsuspecting audience into direct contact with the territory, to experience the hard facts, before they can be altered or interpreted by others' rhetorical "maps" of that territory. The purpose of symbolic action is to confront the audience with the territory in such a way that it is simply too difficult to modify in order to fit the audience's current maps; the purpose is to place the listeners in actual touch with reality without the chance for modification of that experience through filter of language.

Modification is the mental process of interpreting messages (received through all the senses, not simply

through the oral/aural channel) so that they support one's social reality (i.e., one's map of what reality is). This is the modification process most often used by the intentional thinker, the person who places more faith in mental maps than nonverbal experiences. Modification may also refer to the reverse process by which one alters his or her map of reality to coincide with messages which contradict it. This is the process that Johnson uses to define the extensional thinker, the person who continually tests his or her map against real life experiences. In terms of the preceding discussion, it is held that it is easier and less threatening for a person to change his or her closely-held beliefs about the subject of that message. It follows, then, that modification will usually occur in interpreted messages rather than in maps.

In order to persuade an audience to change behaviors, beliefs, and attitudes, a speaker must somehow generate changes in the audience's maps. In order to do so, the message must be delivered in such a way that makes the speaker's social reality conveyed thereby too difficult for the audience to change, more difficult to change than the map.

A basic rule in persuasion found in contemporary speech textbooks by authors such as DeVito (1984) and Ehninger et al. (1978), states that when presenting a persuasive message, particularly to a hostile audience, it is strategic to

establish a common ground with that audience. Such areas of common ground may include such fundamental characteristics as beliefs in the goodness of people or beliefs in basic human rights. It is important to evoke from the audience empathy and identification with oneself and one's message early in the sender/receiver interchange. In Burkean terms, identification is an emotional state in which the listener feels a personal involvement in the rhetorical vision as an actor alluded to in either "god" terms or in "devil" terms. Rhetorical vision refers to "an intersubjective world of common expectations and meaning created in speaker-audience transaction" according to Bormann (1972). It is the view of social reality constructed within the rhetoric expressed by the source of a message and perceived by the receiver. "God" terms, then, are words or phrases which evoke goodwill through allusion to culturally held values and their antithesis.

General Semanticists also acknowledge the usefulness of "god" and "devil" terms in persuasion. Hayakawa writes of American school children being taught the "proper" automatic responses to terms such as "'Christianity' ('a fine thing'), 'the constitution' ('a fine thing'), 'Shakespeare' ('a great poet'), 'Benedict Arnold' ('a traitor'), and so on" (1963, p. 24).

If a communicator is of low credibility to an audience, he or she may acquire a credibility-by-association through

quoting or mentioning a higher respected authority to which the audience will respond with an automatic and positive response. Higher authorities are culture-bound but most often include national or religious figures or doctrines such as Jesus of Nazareth, Mohammed, Moses, the Declaration of Independence, the Bhagavad Gita, George Washington, etc.

Just as source and speaker credibility give weight to verbal rhetoric, they give weight to nonverbal rhetoric as well. For nonviolent tactics to be effective, then, the source of the message must be able to cite a culturally respected doctrine or person which supports the use of nonviolence over violence. In societies where violence is not sanctioned, where peace and civility are dear, it is most important that symbolic action be nonviolent. This is so that in no way can the territory be compatible with the opposition's maps concerning the movement and its followers and allow the opposition to change, filter, ignore, or rationalize a nonresponse to the movement's message. The opposition can look at violent action of movement followers and feel that the followers are not "worthy" and so their demands need not be met: "See how they act? We knew they were like that! They only get what they deserve; it's their own fault."

Ironically, nonviolent direct action in societies, such as those described above, is most effective when it is calculated to evoke and is successful in evoking violent

responses from the opposition forces. In such cases, the opposition's map must almost always be altered. In confronting the life facts, the opposition itself has acted in conflict with the mandates of a higher authority, be it religious doctrine, laws, or societal mores and, therefore, has acted in conflict with its map about itself. The fact that the opposition did act violently without having been provoked by acts of violence and acted violently against people who did not return that violence leaves the opposition "naked" without defense for its own violent deeds before the judgment of the group's closely held social or religious values against violence or against unprovoked violence. In these circumstances it takes a great bit of logical acrobatics in order for the territory (i.e., we acted violently against those who did us no violence) to be adjusted by rhetoric to the map (i.e., we are good peaceful people; we are better people than the movement's followers). At this point verbal arguments excusing the opposition's behavior are weak before the actual physical experience of the circumstances surrounding the act and the actual occurrence of that behavior. Left with no choice, the opposition's maps must be altered in order for the opposition to maintain what Korzybski refers to as "sane-ness", or to maintain equilibrium. Sane-ness or equilibrium is a psychological state in which any information which will not coincide with a person's or culture's

social reality can be either discredited, ignored, or filtered in order to support and retain that present social reality. If such information cannot be modified to support a person's maps, then the person is in a state of disequilibrium, an uncomfortable, un-sane state which can only be resolved through modification of the person's map of social reality.

Another way of looking at this is through the Psychological Balance theory discussed by DeVito (1984). Based on general theories of human motivation, Balance theory states that humans expect a positive link between a source and a belief that they like, or a source and a belief that they do not like. People also expect a negative link between a source they respect and a belief with which they disagree. For instance, we want the people we like to believe as we do; we want our best friend to like a political candidate for whom we have chosen to vote. If our expectations are not met, if this best friend believes our chosen candidate to be a huckster, we experience psychological imbalance. To regain balance, we must either reform opinions about our best friend, our chosen politician, or both. This need to regain balance causes us to be more persuasible.

Applying this balance theory to nonviolent direct action as well as to verbal appeals to higher authority, it becomes clear how these two rhetorical strategies can cause an audience to be more easily persuaded. One does not

expect a spokesperson for a cause one is against to be able to utilize highly revered sources in support of that cause. To do so provides a positive link between a negatively-valued speaker and a positively-valued belief or authority. This link causes an imbalance that the listener may correct only through altering values placed on the speaker, the belief, or both. Similarly, if a culture, as in the case mentioned earlier, is peace-loving and its people have responded to nonviolence with violence, then it finds itself in a state of imbalance. On one hand, the audience has observed a positive link with a negatively-valued population and a positively-valued behavior. On the other hand, it has observed a positive link between a positively-valued population (itself) and a negatively valued behavior. In Burke's dramatistic terminology, it has acted in the role of "devil" according to its values and the mandates of a higher authority. At this point, the opposition must either accept the role of "devil" or "repent" in some manner. Successful repentance occurs when the opposition changes the territory itself in order to build a new map or salvage an old map, one in which it once again is acting the role in which it is content. Such changes in maps will be revealed through verbal rhetoric and in the territory through nonverbal rhetoric.

According to sociologist Gordon (1964) in his work on intergroup conflict and racism, prejudice is the

attribution of characteristics to an individual for no other reason than that he or she is a member of a specific group. In other words, prejudice can be seen to result from intensional thinking. The prejudiced individual will evaluate a group member in terms of a mental map rather than utilizing information gained through actual interaction with that individual. Discrimination, according to Gordon, is a result of prejudice and is the translation of prejudice into institutionalized racism such as unfair laws, policies, and procedures which allow inferior treatment of individuals because they are members of a "second-class" group. Again, such discriminatory practices are the result of intensional thinking, using maps of how a group of people behave to form policies governing their behavior, rather than evaluating the policies against interaction with individuals in that group. The objective of rhetoric for the elimination of prejudice and discrimination, then, is to change the maps of the audience concerning the disfavored group.

Map changes in an opponent's social reality which eliminate prejudice are most often revealed through verbal rhetoric. Changes in nonverbal rhetoric (hiring practices, desegregation) more clearly indicate map changes which lessen discrimination, according to Gordon. Therefore, fair hiring practices and integration may lead to, but do not indicate, unbiased attitudes.

A useful theory must not only provide explanation but a means for prediction as well. The next section provides a method by which the rhetorical critic or the movement planner may predict the level of efficacy of nonviolent direct action in a given movement. This is followed by the presentation and discussion of the many significant variables in and surrounding a given social movement and how they and their relationships to one another may be measured in order to determine whether or not movement planners may use nonviolent direct action to a successful end.

Major Propositions of NVET

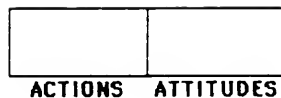
NVET is based on four basic propositions gleaned from the preceding discussion. These propositions are

1. Nonviolence is only successful when it can force the powers it targets to identify with "devil" terms and characters in the constructed rhetorical vision. This identification will be revealed in the words and actions of the opposition as they attempt to rationalize, refute, or apologize for their role as "devil."
2. Nonviolent symbolic action is only persuasive when it appeals to a commonly held higher authority. This authority provides standards by which to compare the competing "maps" and by which to judge the territory when it is confronted. The rhetoric of a successful movement will contain appeals to a commonly held authority.
3. Those who hold the prevailing vision of social reality will go through four basic stages toward agreement with the competing vision. These stages are (a) awareness of a competing vision, (b) empathy with those holding the vision, (c) identification with those holding the vision, and (d) modification of their own prevailing vision.

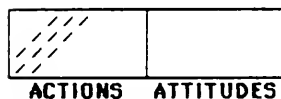
4. The four stages of the opposition's social reality will be revealed in words and actions. In the inception stages of the movement the opposition will describe itself in "god" terms. As the movement progresses, the opposition's rhetoric will change in an effort to reconcile inconsistencies between the map of the opposition and the territory as revealed through the movement's symbolic action. The movement is successful when in the final stage the opposition finds the inconsistencies between perceived social reality and "real life facts" irreconcilable through rhetorical justifications. In this case, equilibrium, disidentification with the "devil," can only be accomplished through alterations in the territory. Such alterations are produced by changes in attitudes, words, actions, and policies.

For nonviolent symbolic action to be effective it must be combined with verbal appeals, both of which should be directed at practical material authorities as well as higher spiritual authorities. Figure 2.1 suggests the manner in which each of these appeals work to change the opposition's vision, their maps that dictate their attitudes and actions toward the movement. The changing vision of the opposition represents the four predicted stages through which it moves toward coinciding with the movement's rhetorical vision. The attitudes of the opposition are placed on the right side of the competing vision to indicate that these, according to Gordon, are more deep-seated and therefore more difficult to reach and change.

In stage 4, nonviolent direct action thrusts the audience into direct sensual contact with the territory. In the example given on the model, the Birmingham march ended with "police dogs lunging at young marchers, of firemen

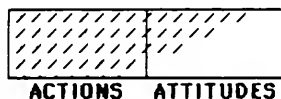


1. verbal appeals to material issues; financial; worker concerns (Ex: Gandhi's letter to Viceroy refusing to pay salt tax.)



little or no impression; no change in policy

2. verbal appeals to common higher authority (Ex: in letter Gandhi mentions British charity, dignity, sense of fairness.)



evokes sympathy but little or no change in policy and attitudes

3. nonverbal appeals to material issues (Ex: Montgomery bus boycott directly hurting city finances.)



forces change of policy, attitudes somewhat altered; interdependence of groups acknowledged

4. nonverbal appeals to common higher authority (Ex: March where children were attacked by policemen and dogs; appealing to doctrines of "love they enemy," etc.)



forces change of ideas and beliefs about the relationships between the groups and the desirability of the present system

Figure 2.1. Four stages of change in the opposition's vision of social reality.

raking them with jet streams, of club-wielding cops pinning a Negro woman to the ground" (Oates, 1982, p. 235). With the media bringing these images into the homes of millions, citizens of the U.S.A. were faced with these acts committed by the opposition against the movement. In no way could such behavior be aligned with prevailing Judeo-Christian doctrines or the American belief in punishment fitting crimes. Certainly the fact that armed men were fighting off unarmed women and children went against the nation's sense of justice. Those audience members who felt themselves to be members of the opposition had to at this point see themselves or at least their representatives in the role of the "devil" in this particular drama. In order to correct this, change in policy was necessary. In most cases, it is probable, too, that a change in attitude toward the movement followers, if nothing more than a grudging respect, resulted from the march as well.

Note that even in the fourth stage the two visions of social reality are not identical. Until two groups become culturally indistinguishable, they will maintain somewhat differing maps of reality as filtered through differing value systems revealed in language. Complete cultural assimilation usually occurs only through intermarriage according to sociologist, Gordon. The end result of intermarriage is an elimination of two distinct cultural groups, which in turn eliminates both differing cultural

values and social realities, and the possibility of prejudice as a reaction to those who are different.

The path model in Figure 2.2 is designed to represent the dynamic interaction of a few major forces of those "multifarious and effervescent" forces present in a social movement which Lucas (1980) talks about. The model incorporates elements within the three major forces of which Lucas speaks: the objective material conditions, the rhetorical discourse, and the ideologies of those persons involved. It also contains Griffin's (1952) three stages of social movements: the period of inception, the period of rhetorical crisis, and the period of consummation. The model does not illustrate a linear path of action but rather a three-dimensional process. The left side of the model includes the major factors which determine the basic psychological, financial, political, and physical strength of the movement and its followers as well as of the opposition. The culture's respect or disrespect for violence and non-violence is also included. All of these factors play a part in determining the rhetorical strategy of the movement, verbal and nonverbal rhetoric, and how effective that strategy is.

After rhetorical confrontation begins (Griffin's period of rhetorical crisis), feedback from the audience affects the movement's strategy and its effectiveness. The four major interacting factors of this feedback include how

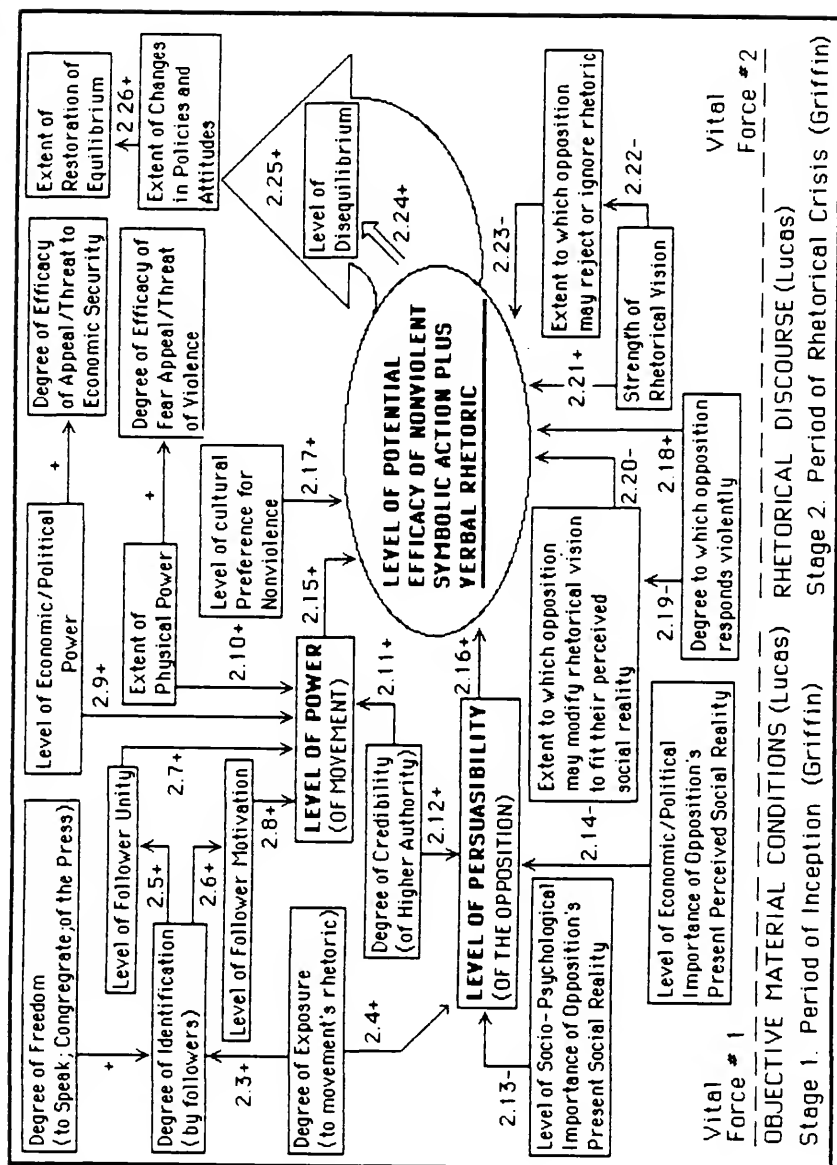


Figure 2.2. Theoretical path model for NVET. (Lucas' Vital Force #3; ideologies of those involved is present throughout the model.)

strongly the verbal rhetoric embodies commonly held cultural myths of right and wrong and how well the symbolic action is able to catch the audience's attention and do so in a manner which causes the opposition to play the "devil" in the action. Verbal rhetoric containing many commonly held and respected higher authorities and mandates of such will be more difficult for an audience to discredit or ignore. Symbolic action which causes the opposition to respond not in accordance with these mandates such as acting obviously unjustly or violently will cause the opposition to have greater difficulty in justifying its actions and itself.

All these forces continue to interact, changing the rhetoric and thereby the social realities of one or both groups until a level of disequilibrium is reached that forces the opposition to make changes in policies and attitudes in order to regain its equilibrium.

Another outcome, of course, is possible. Through the dynamic interaction of all elements, the case may be that the opposition is able to reject or ignore the movement's rhetoric and to justify its actions in response to the movement. This feedback will normally tend to change the rhetoric and thereby the social reality of the movement more than the opposition. If indeed the strength of the opposition's social reality and the rhetoric which reveals it proves more forceful than the social reality and rhetoric of the movement, then movement followers may be the ones to

reach a level of disequilibrium. At some point, frustration may become so great, futility so obvious, that they believe themselves to be wrong and foolish in their cause and their attempt to change people, themselves, the world, society, and "the way things are." With a new social reality tinged with defeat and cynicism, they may give up and accept their lot with a sense of fatalism. If neither side can succeed in changing the rhetoric and social reality of the other group, it may be projected that after some time violence will erupt to decide the matter by coercion rather than persuasion.

Operational Linkages

This section contains an explanation of the preceding path model identifying a few significant variables in and surrounding a social movement and projecting the ways in which these variables influence one another. Graphs are provided to give a clearer understanding of the predicted relationships between variables. Each operational linkage is a description of a relationship existing between two variables in the path model (Figure 2.2). The linkage to which each description corresponds is found in parentheses at the end of the definition for that linkage under the graph which depicts it. The variables are grouped into Lucas' three major forces: material conditions, rhetorical discourse, and ideologies.

Objective Material Conditions

The variables included in this section are those which constitute the situation in which the movement forms. Obviously people cannot be persuaded by rhetoric without exposure to that rhetoric. Two important factors which would greatly influence the amount of exposure are functions of the cultural and political setting. These are the level of freedom to question the status quo allowed to the general populace and the channels of mass communication which are open and accessible to speakers and listeners and exist uncensored by the government. Limited freedom to disseminate movement rhetoric or lack of technology or access to efficient channels will limit that rhetoric's effectiveness from the outset of the movement. Also, obviously, an audience cannot identify with a vision to which it has not been exposed. Too much exposure, on the other hand, can cause movement rhetoric to meet a point of diminishing returns. A "media blitz" or a "channel blitz" of movement rhetoric may cause the rhetoric to be overwhelming. At a point of saturation the rhetoric may become boring, irritating, evoking responses such as "Oh no, not again" or "Who cares?" At this point, the perceptive rhetorician will change tactics, or the saturation will cause a loss of interest. (This may be a good point at which to utilize symbolic action.) It may be expected that movement followers are more likely to have an immediate

increase in response to the rhetoric, whereas the opposition will be slower to begin a response which will most likely be completely negative to rhetoric so out of line with their world view. Also, the opposition should lose interest at the point of saturation more rapidly and to a greater degree than followers. The following statements and graphs (Figures 2.3 and 2.4) represent the predicted relationship between the Degree of Exposure to the movement's rhetoric and the Level of Identification of movement followers as well as the Level of Persuasibility of the opposition.

A theoretical definition for Degree of Exposure (to movement rhetoric) would be the extent to which the audience is in contact with movement's ideas and demands as well as the extent to which followers and potential followers are in contact with movement ideas. The operational definition for determining the Degree of Exposure is as follows:

$$\text{Degree of Exposure} = [g(ae+be+cf+df)+hi+2ji+ki]l$$

The variables in this equation are replaced by numbers determined by the following indices:

- a. number of television stories on movement
- b. number of radio stories on movement
- c. number of newspaper stories on movement
- d. number of magazine articles on movement
- e. average number of minutes of aired stories
- f. average number of words per written stories
- g. average number of viewers/readers of news stories among population

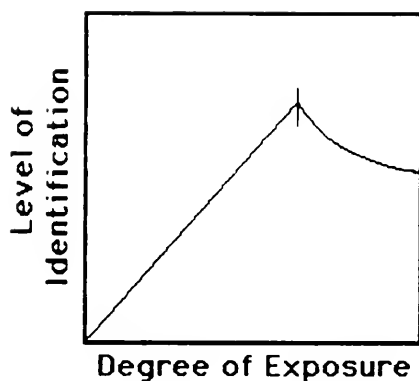


Figure 2.3 The greater the Degree of Exposure to the movement's rhetoric, the greater the Level of Persuasibility (of the opposition) to a critical point of saturation at which the Level of Persuasibility lessens model).

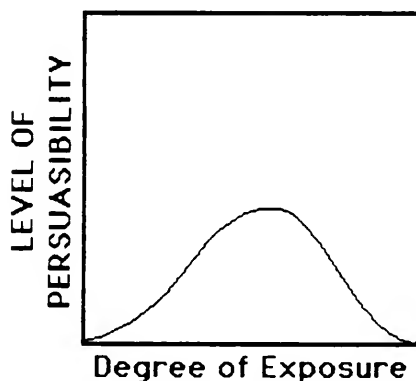


Figure 2.4 The greater the Degree of Exposure to the movement's rhetoric, the higher the possible Level of Identification with the movement will be until the Degree of Exposure reaches a critical point of saturation at which the Level of Identification lessens slightly and levels off.

- h. number of lectures and activities produced by movement
- i. average number of new listeners
- j. number of proselytes
- k. number of items of movement literature (brochures, posters, pamphlets, etc.) disseminated
- l. presence or absence of Freedom of the Press, Speech, to Protest, to Congregate:
Presence = 1; Absence = .1

The Level of Identification refers to the degree to which followers personally feel involved with the movement. It is the point at which the listener can fully understand and empathize with the characters and action presented in the rhetorical vision and can see the rhetorical vision of the movement as their own perception of social reality. The Level of Identification with the movement by followers will most directly effect the Level of Unity and the Level of Motivation among followers. As followers perceive themselves more strongly tied to a cause, they will have feelings of commonality with others dedicated to the same cause. An example would be that of two drug users who are persons of quite differing backgrounds, interests, and professions but feel a common bond because of this one strong common interest (Figure 2.5).

If identification with the cause increases to the point that linkage to and activity within the movement are central to one's self-concept, then other considerations become of lesser significance to that person. Therefore, when introduced to another person, perceived similar or

dissimilar characteristics dim in light of the other's involvement or uninvolved with the cause.

As followers feel an increase in personal stake and a personal calling to a cause, the more strongly will they feel the need to act in the name of that cause. In some instances, a follower's identity may become so immersed in a cause to the point that life without that cause or with the cause defeated has no meaning. In such instances the follower is usually willing to risk property, position, family, even life, for the sake of the movement (Figure 2.6).

The Degree of Identification is theoretically defined as the degree to which followers feel personally involved with the movement; can fully understand and empathize with the characters and action present in the rhetorical vision; can see the rhetorical vision of the movement as true to their perception of reality. The operational definition which enables one to determine the Degree of Identification in given movement is

$$\text{Level of Identification} = (a + b + c + 2d) E$$

Indices:

- a. average number of times a specific common higher authority is invoked in verbal rhetoric (i.e., scriptural references, legal references, cultural ideological or mythical references).
- b. number of higher authorities invoked.

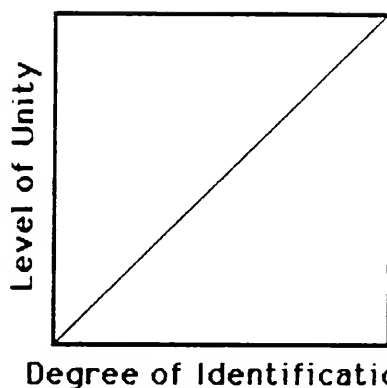


Figure 2.5 As the Degree of Identification (with the movement by followers) increases, the Level of Unity (among factions) increases model).

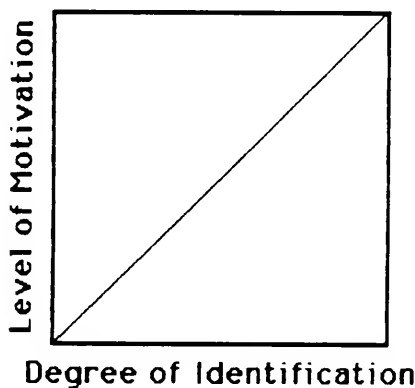


Figure 2.6 As the Degree of Identification (with the movement by followers) increases, the Level of Motivation (among followers) increases on model).

- c. number of nonverbal symbols used by leaders of the movement that are common and meaningful to followers (i.e., clothing occupation, housing, mode of transportation, etc.).
- d. average number of yards in distance followers can actually approach leader.
- e. Degree of Exposure = E

Both the Level of Follower Unity and Level of Motivation will influence the potential power of the movement. Infighting weakens a movement while a unified movement can spend more energy persuading the opposition rather than trying to persuade one another. A cohesive, cooperative organization is capable of greater efficiency than a noncohesive, argumentative group. Also, unity provides a credible appearance to outsiders, at least a more credible appearance than an organization which is divided against itself. Even though all large organizations will contain factions of disagreement, at a critical point the larger faction of unified members will be stronger in controlling smaller diverse factions. If a significantly large unified faction exists and grows, it can suppress conflicts within the movement or more easily convert conflicting factions with a bandwagon appeal (Figure 2.7).

Motivation influences movement power because as movement followers become more willing to act in the name of the cause, the more attention they can command. As followers become more willing to sacrifice, to risk life, limb, and property, the resources and strategic options for the movement become even more numerous (Figure 2.8).

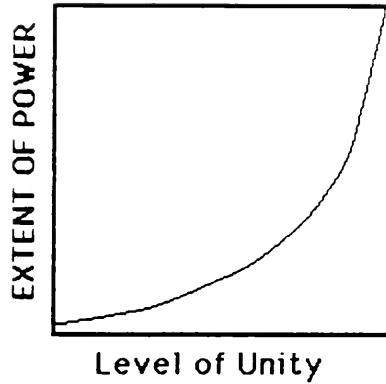


Figure 2.7 As the Level of Follower Unity increases, the Extent of Power (of the movement) increases steadily until it reaches a critical point at which the Level of Unity increases incrementally.

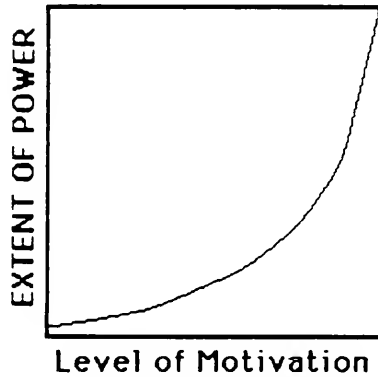


Figure 2.8 As the Level of Motivation increases, the Extent of Power (of the movement) increases steadily until it reaches a critical point at which the Extent of Power increases incrementally.

The Level of Unity (among followers) may be theoretically defined as the extent to which an organization lacks divisive factions, infighting, and feels a commonality and willingness to cooperate with one another. The Level of Unity may be determined through the following operational definition and indices:

$$\text{Level of Unity} = ba + \frac{\frac{d}{1+e}}{f}$$

Indices:

- a. number of prominent acknowledged leaders
- b. absence or presence of one overall leader:
absence = 1; presence = .1
- c. number of identifiable factions
- d. number of followers
- e. average number of followers in factions
- f. number of issues over which disagreement occurs
("f" must be weighted according to the seriousness of the issue. For instance, a disagreement over a minor matter such as naming the movement may be weighted "1." A breach over the primary goal or strategy of the movement may be weighted "3").

Theoretically the Level of Motivation is the extent to which followers are willing to act, to risk property, family, injury, and death. Operationally, the Level of Motivation may be defined using the following:

$$\text{Level of Motivation} = a + 2b + 3c + 4d + 5e + 6f$$

Indices:

- a. number of people who are willing to say they are part of the cause

- b. average number of people participating in activities
- c. average number of people who donate time, money, or resources
- d. number of people who lost money, property, jobs
- e. number of people injured
- f. number of people who died

Two other factors which will influence how powerful a movement may be are the Extent of the Movement's Power and Economic Influence and the Extent of the Movement's Physical Power. The movement's economic and political power can be defined in terms of the movement's financial resources and access to legal processes within the society. The movement's physical power is the ability of the movement to use force to achieve its ends. As both of these factors increase, the power of the movement against the opposition increases (Figures 2.9 and 2.10). Studies indicate that appeals to power, to financial gain, and to fear are strong motivational appeals. Yet, an organization without economic resources has little leverage by which to appeal to financial gain. It may have trouble meeting organizational operating costs, and threats to withhold business may prove ineffective. An organization without political resources has little leverage by which to appeal to legislators and governing officials. A threat to withhold support will be insignificant. Such an organization may also have difficulty getting media coverage. Finally, an organization without physical strength may threaten violence without inspiring fear.

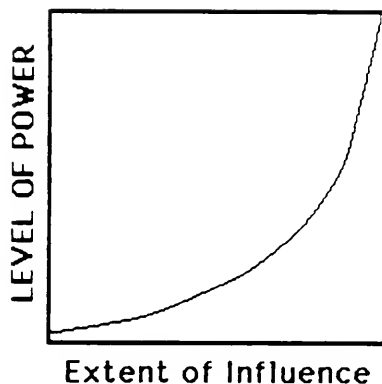


Figure 2.9 As the Extent of Economic and Political Influence (of the movement) increases, the Level of Power (of the movement) increases until it reaches a critical point at which the movement is so powerful that no "movement" is necessary--change can occur on demand.

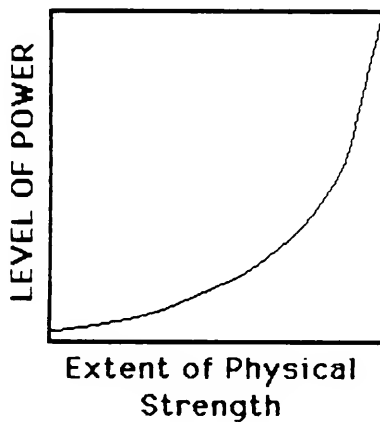


Figure 2.10 As the Extent of Physical Strength (of movement followers) increases, the Level of Power (of the movement) increases to a critical point at which a "movement" is not necessary model).

The Extent of Economic and Political Power may be defined as the financial resources and access to legal processes available to the movement. It may be defined operationally:

$$\text{Level of Economic/Political Power} = \frac{a}{b} + (e-d) + \frac{f}{h} + \frac{g}{i} + \frac{c}{j}$$

Indices:

- a. average income of followers
- b. average income of the opposition
- c. number of followers
- d. average percentage of income obtained by opposition from followers through work or payment
- e. average percentage of income obtained by followers from opposition through work or payment
- f. number of voters among followers
- g. number of governmental officials among followers
- h. total number of voters in society
- i. total number of governmental officials
 - weights: 1 = community lever
 - 2 = state, provincial, territorial level
 - 3 = national level
- j. population of society

The Level of Physical Power (of movement or opposition) is the extent to which the movement can use force to coerce the opposition. It is determined through the following operational definition and indices:

$$\text{Level of Physical Power} = \frac{a}{b} + \frac{c}{d} + \frac{n(e)}{n(e)}$$

Indices:

- a. number of followers
- b. number of opposition members
- c. number of militarily capable followers

- d. number of militarily capable opposition members
- e. number of weapons weighted according to potency:
 - fists = 1
 - stones, rocks, bottles = 2
 - rifles = 3
 - bombs = 5

As mentioned in the earlier section, one of the main strategies in persuading a hostile audience is to establish a common ground with that audience, a common belief or goal. Often these are drawn from commonly held national, religious, or cultural beliefs usually contained in the words of a credible person or doctrine. To the degree that the audience perceives this higher authority as credible, the movement gains power and the persuasibility of the audience increases. The use of a respected source in movement rhetoric will inspire the movement followers as well as making them prouder to be identified with the movement and prouder to act in its behalf, thus adding to the strength of the movement (Figure 2.11). The use of a source deemed highly credible by a source deemed not credible should also create a state of disequilibrium in the audience which the audience may attempt to alleviate. If so, the audience will be more persuasible in an effort to reconcile the speaker with his or her references (Figure 2.12).

The Degree of Credibility (of Higher Authority) is the extent to which the authority is viewed as infallible and to which it is used as a guideline for correct human behavior. In historical movements this must be ascertained through a

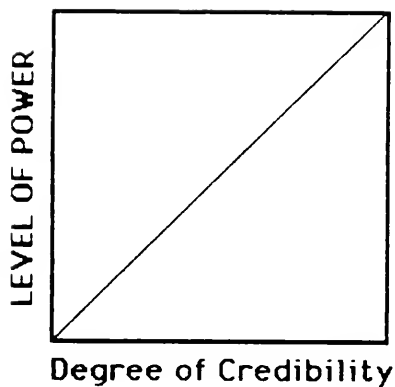


Figure 2.11 As the Degree of Credibility (of the Higher Authority) increases, the Level of Power (of the movement) increases.

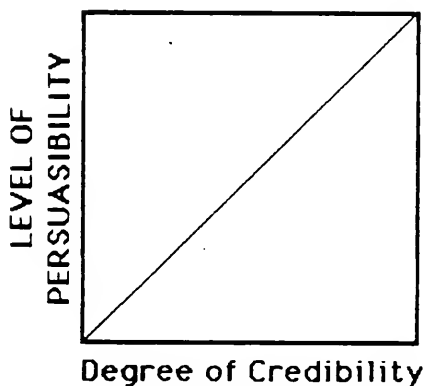


Figure 2.12 As the Degree of Credibility (of the Higher Authority) increases, the Level of Persuasibility increases.

qualitative analysis of available resource materials on the subject. For a contemporary movement the following operational definition might be used:

$$\text{Degree of Credibility} = a + 2b$$

Indices:

- a. use of an instrument that measures public opinion of higher authorities using a seven-point semantic differential scale with questions such as the following:
 1. I am a devout Christian
 2. I am a devout Hindu
 3. I try to live my life according to the scriptures in the Koran.
 4. The Constitution outlines the way in which this country should be governed.
- b. number of active members in institutions formed in the names of these higher authorities.

The Level of Power (of movement) is defined as the combination of all interacting factors which measure the potential degree of influence which the movement has. This is determined through the use of the following operational definition:

$$\text{Level of Power} = A + 2(B + C + D) + 3(E + F + G)$$

Indices:

- A. Degree of Exposure (to movement rhetoric)
- B. Level of Identification (of followers with movement rhetoric)
- C. Level of Unity (among followers)
- D. Level of Motivation (among followers)
- E. Level of Economic/Political Power (of followers)

- F. Level of Physical Power (of followers)
- G. Degree of Credibility (of higher authority)

Rhetorical Discourse

Two main factors which will determine how receptive an opposition is to movement rhetoric depend on how the view of reality expressed in movement rhetoric threatens the opposition's role in the social hierarchy by threatening its status, economic benefits, and political power in that hierarchy. The level of sociopsychological importance of the opposition's original view of social reality is dependent upon the degree to which the opposition's status and self-worth depend on maintaining the society's status quo. On the other hand, the level of economic and political importance of the opposition's original social reality is influenced by the extent to which the movement's conflicting view of reality threatens the opposition economically and in terms of political power. If a change in the initial social reality will result in a lowering of status for the opposition, then the rhetoric supporting that change will be perceived as a threat and will be resisted. When a social reality has been accepted for many generations, a change in it will also be perceived as threatening, as not traditional, and will be resisted (Figure 2.13). Also, if such a change is likely to cause a change in the opposition's economic benefits or political power, it will be resisted (Figure 2.14). For

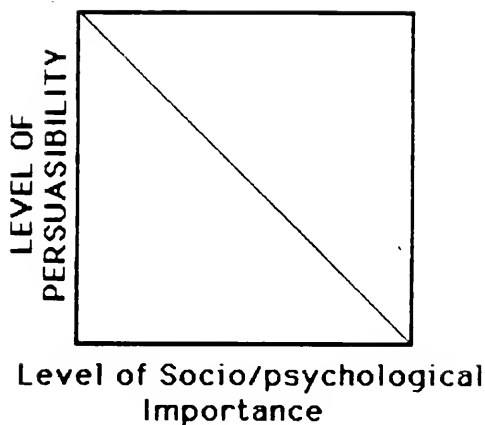


Figure 2.13 As the Level of Sociopsychological Importance (of the opposition's original social reality) increases, the Level of Persuasibility (of the opposition) decreases.

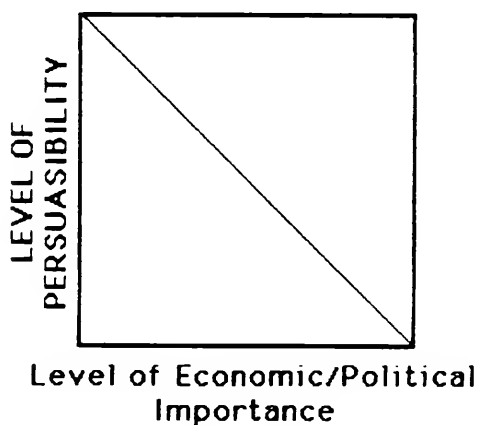


Figure 2.14 As the Level of Economic/Political Importance (of the opposition's original social reality) increases, the Level of Persuasibility (of the audience) decreases.

example, in the antebellum South, wealthy plantation owners resisted rhetoric which spoke of Negroes as men and women with equal rights and as human beings with souls. If this view of social reality was to be accepted, then men and women of the Judeo-Christian moral code would feel the necessity of freeing their Negro slaves. Freeing the slaves would cause a significant lowering of plantation profits. Therefore, such a view of social reality was resisted. Many poor white farmers resisted this view of social reality because although they were already very low on the socioeconomic ladder, they could still consider themselves "above" Negro slaves. Freeing slaves threatened their social status of not being on the bottom rung of the socioeconomic ladder. In southern counties with large percentages of blacks, whites resisted this new and revolutionary social reality, because if Negroes had the vote, the whites would lose much of their political power.

The theoretical definition for the Level of Sociopsychological Importance (of the opposition's original social reality) is the degree to which the opposition's status and self-worth depends on the status quo. It can be determined through the following:

Level of Sociopsychological Importance = (a+b)c

Indices:

- a. number of generations down through which the present social reality has been passed
- b. number of familiar songs, creeds, fables, etc. which represent the present social reality
- c. the presence or absence of the belief that the new vision will lower the status of the opposition group
presence = 2; absence = 1

The Level of Economic/Political Importance (of the status quo to the opposition) is the extent to which the proposed new social reality will threaten the opposition economically and in terms of political power. This may be ascertained through the following operational definition:

Level of Economic/Political Importance = a+b+c+d

Indices:

- a. projected average increase of salaries for movement followers
- b. projected number of jobs given to followers normally filled by majority members
- c. increase in percentage of minority's voting power
- d. increase in percentage of minority's governmental positions

As a movement gains economic, political, and physical power, as well as the psychological advantage gained through allusion to a credible higher authority, the potential to use nonviolent direct action effectively becomes greater. If the power of the movement approaches the level of the

power of the opposition, then the potential for efficacy will increase dramatically (Figure 2.15). The potential effectiveness of nonviolence is also a function of the persuasibility of the opposition. If the audience is not predisposed to be persuaded, then the initial efficacy of nonviolence is not high. If an audience is simply apathetic, potential efficacy will meet with less resistance but must still serve as a powerful and creative attention gaining device. The audience predisposed to movement rhetoric will obviously be most receptive to nonviolent direct action. In fact, as persuasibility increases, the movement may find "opposition members" participating in its cause. Of course, at some point of high persuasibility, nonviolent symbolic action becomes unnecessary (Figure 2.16).

The Level of Persuasibility (of the opposition) is here defined as the audience's predisposition to heed the movement's rhetoric. It is operationally defined through the following:

$$\text{Level of Persuasibility} = (a+2b) - (c+d)$$

Indices:

- a. Degree of Exposure to rhetoric
- b. Degree of Credibility of higher authority
- c. Level of Sociopsychological Importance
- d. Level of Economic/Political Importance of opposition's present perceived social reality

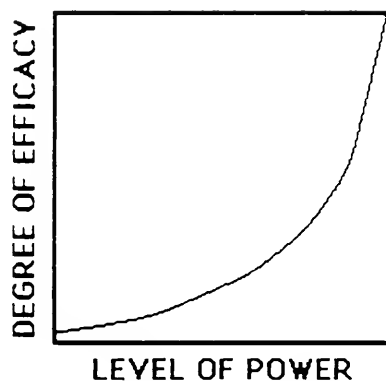


Figure 2.15 As the Level of Power (of the movement) increases, the Degree of Efficacy (of nonviolent symbolic action plus rhetoric) increases incrementally.

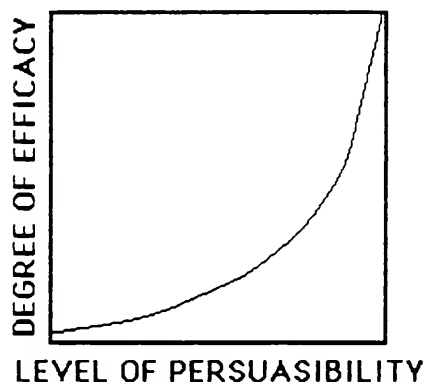


Figure 2.16 As the Level of Persuasibility (of the opposition) increases, the Degree of Efficacy (of nonviolent symbolic action plus rhetoric) increases incrementally.

Probably the most salient variable influencing the use of nonviolent action is a cultural one. If the culture has no preference or respect for nonviolence, then the employment of such tactics will not only be ineffective but probably scorned. The society with a greater respect for nonviolence will give greater heed to the movement's cause. In a society where violence is abhorred, the use of nonviolence may be effective in that the movement's requests will be met in an effort to avoid being targeted for more stringent violent methods. Nonviolent symbolic action is often designed to provide a confrontation that the opposition can only meet with acquiescence or violence or inattention. If a society is strongly opposed to violence, then its options are limited (Figure 2.17).

The Level of Cultural Preference (for nonviolence) is the extent to which a society looks unfavorably upon the use of physical force. This may be determined through the following:

$$\text{Level of Cultural Preference} = 1a + 1b + 1c + 5(1-d)$$

Indices:

- a. presence or absence of acceptable norm to bear arms in public
presence = .1; absence = 1
- b. presence or absence of law against possessing arms
presence = 2; absence = 1
- c. presence or absence of religious mandate against violence
presence = 1; absence = .5

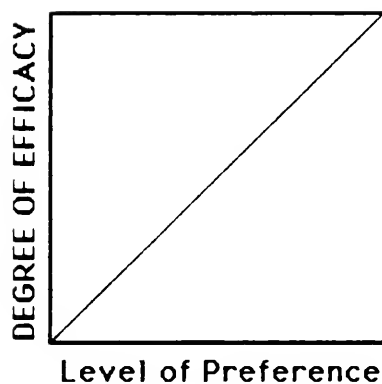


Figure 2.17 As the Level of Cultural Preference (for nonviolence) increases, the Degree of Efficacy (of nonviolent symbolic action) increases.

d. survey of citizens asking "Under which conditions is violent behavior acceptable?"

In which of the following is violent behavior acceptable?

- ☐ war
- ☐ self-defense
- ☐ defense of another
- ☐ defense of property
- ☐ defense of honor
- ☐ defense of rights

average number of checks is indicator "d".

As stated earlier, nonviolence is quite often most effective when it evokes a violent response from opposition members in a society in which nonviolence is preferred. If an act of nonviolent symbolic action evokes an act of violence from the opposition, then onlookers must necessarily view the violent party in a negative light, placing the movement followers in the roles of martyrs and giving an almost "holy" credibility to their cause (Figure 2.18). In order to justify their behavior, the opposition may resort to rhetoric which indicates that just provocation existed. However, as the level of violent response increases, rhetoric stating that the "punishment" fit the "crime" becomes more difficult to justify (Figure 2.19). In this case, if the opposition cannot sufficiently justify its behavior, then it must accept the role as "devil" in the "act." This is a modification of the original social reality. If the opposition is forced to modify its perception of itself to the role of "devil" and cannot rectify this role change through verbal means, it will then attempt to rectify the new vision

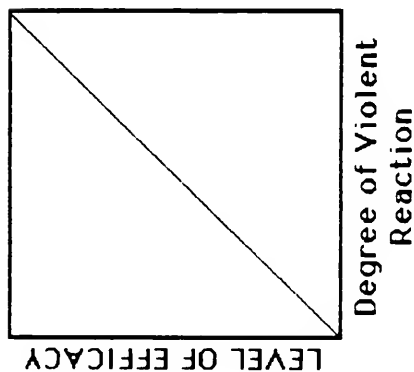


Figure 2.18

As the Degree of Violent Reaction (evoked in the opposition by the movement) increases, the Level of Efficacy increases.

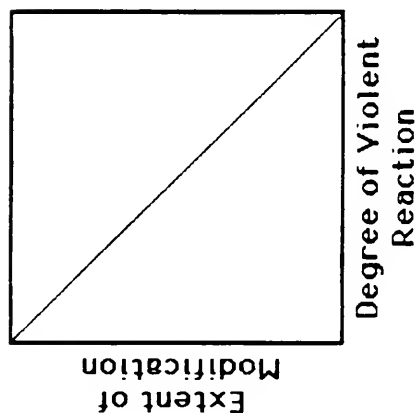


Figure 2.19

As the Degree of Violent Reaction (evoked in the opposition by the movement) increases, the Extent of Modification (of the rhetorical vision by the opposition) decreases.

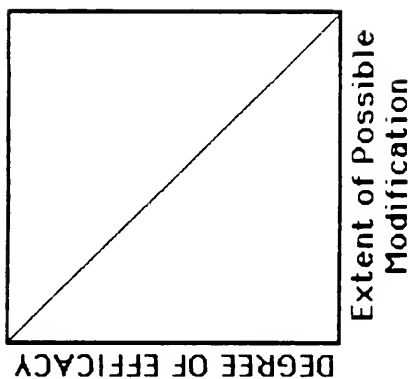


Figure 2.20

As the Extent of Modification (of the rhetorical vision by the movement) increases, the Degree of Efficacy decreases.

through action; change in policies which meet the movement's demands (Figure 2.20).

The Level of Violent Reaction is the degree to which opposition to nonviolent symbolic action responds in accordance with "devil" terms in a given instance. It may be determined through the following indices and equation:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Level of Violent Reaction} = & \frac{b}{d(n)} + n(e) + 2n(f) + 3n(g) + \frac{i}{h} \\ & - \frac{a}{c(n)} + n(e) + 2n(f) + 3n(g) + \frac{i}{h} \end{aligned}$$

Indices:

- a. number of followers participating in activity
weights(n): men = 1; women = 2; children = 3
- b. number of opposition members participating
- c. number of violent acts by followers
- d. number of violent acts by opposition
weights(n): against men = 1; against women = 2;
against children = 3;
against the armed = .5;
against the unarmed = 1
- e. number of temporary injuries
- f. number of permanent injuries
- g. number of deaths
- h. dollars worth of lost property of opposition
- i. dollars worth of lost property of followers

Ideologies

The Extent of Modification is the degree to which the opposition can rationalize violent behavior. Operationally it is defined by

$$\text{Extent of Modification} = b(n) [A(c)]$$

Indices:

- A. Level of Violent Reaction
- b. number of observers
 - weights(n): followers = 1; opposition = .5;
 - 3rd party = 3
- c. number of violent outbreaks

The new rhetorical vision expressed in the rhetoric of the movement must utilize already established and accepted beliefs of the opposition in order to establish credibility. If these accepted beliefs are utilized to support the movement's cause, they create an imbalance in the audience members' minds who are comfortable believing that the myths support the status quo. This imbalance keeps the audience from being able to ignore or simply reject the new vision. As the degree of this imbalance increases, the degree of symbolic action efficacy increases.

The Strength of the Rhetorical Vision is the degree to which verbal rhetoric contains commonly held ideological myths. The indicator for this is the results of content analyses of major speeches using a dramatistic analysis which is to be explained further in next chapter.

The Degree of Possible Rejection (of rhetoric) is the capability of the audience to discredit verbal rhetoric.

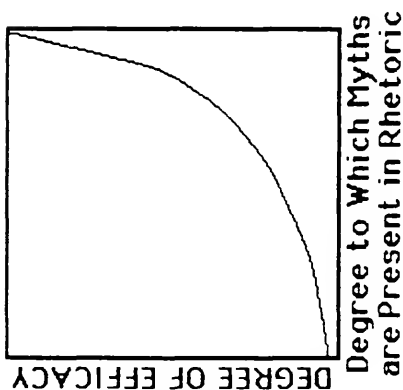


Figure 2.21

As the Degree to which Verbal Rhetoric embodies commonly held ideological myths increases, the Degree of Efficacy increases incrementally.

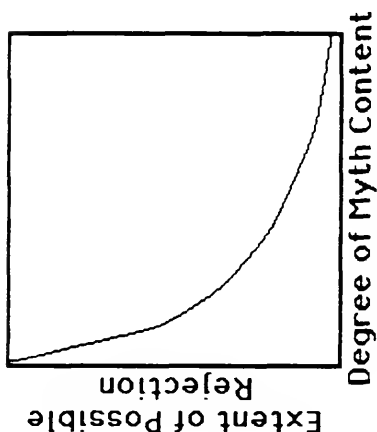


Figure 2.22

As the Degree to which Verbal Rhetoric embodies commonly held ideological myths increases, the Extent to which the Opposition may Reject or ignore the rhetoric decreases incrementally.

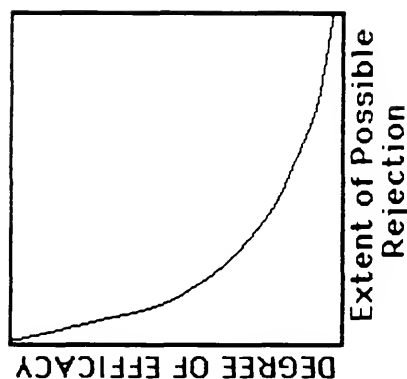


Figure 2.23

As the Extent to which the Opposition may Reject or ignore rhetoric increases, the Degree of Efficacy (of nonviolent symbolic action) decreases incrementally.

Degree of Possible Rejection = ab

Indices:

- a. number of times audience is exposed to rhetoric
- b. strength of the rhetorical vision

If all factors of the rhetorical situation interact to cause a rhetorical vision quite different from the generally accepted view of social reality and if the new rhetorical vision includes and is supported by strong cultural beliefs and mandates of higher authorities, then the old social reality cannot be defended. This will cause a psychological disequilibrium in the minds of the audience (Figure 2.24). As disequilibrium increases, it must reach a point of intolerability at which the opposition must do something to correct it in order to remain "sane." The level of disquiet or disequilibrium will dictate the extent of the changes which the opposition employs to rectify the situation. Great disequilibrium will cause greater changes in attitudes and policies (Figure 2.25).

The Degree of Efficacy is the extent to which elements present in the rhetorical situation interact to cause circumstances under which nonviolent symbolic action will be effective. It is determined by

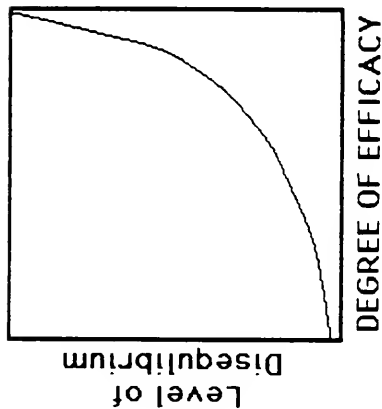


Figure 2.24

As the Degree of Efficacy of nonviolent symbolic action (plus rhetoric) increases, the Level of Disequilibrium (in the opposition) increases.

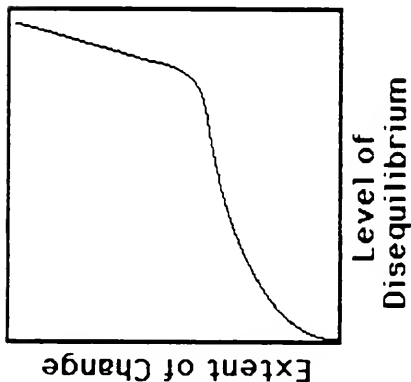


Figure 2.25

As the Level of Disequilibrium increases, the Extent of Change in attitudes and policies of the larger society increases to a point at which it levels off. As it reaches another critical point, disequilibrium becomes so great that change is again required.

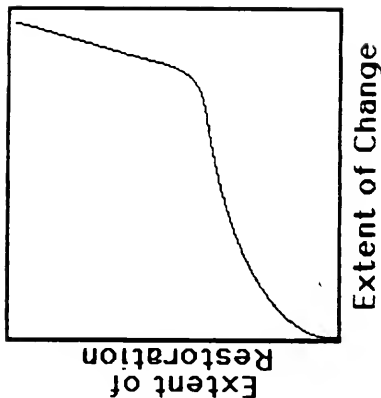


Figure 2.26

As the Extent of Change in attitudes and policies increases, the Extent of Restoration of Equilibrium increases to a critical point at which the opposition feels enough change has been made, at a second critical point so much change has caused the opposition to feel good and generous.

$$\text{Degree of Efficacy} = A+B+C+D+E+F+G$$

Indices:

- A. Level of Power of movement
- B. Level of Cultural Preference for nonviolence
- C. Level of Persuasibility
- D. Extent of Rejection
- E. Strength of Rhetorical Vision
- F. Level of Violent Reaction
- G. Extent of Modification

The Level of Disequilibrium may be redefined as the Level of Efficacy since the purpose of nonviolent direct action is to set a state of imbalance in motion toward persuading the audience. Therefore, the Level of Disequilibrium is operationally defined:

$$\text{Level of Disequilibrium} = \text{Level of Efficacy}$$

The Extent of Change in attitudes and policies is the degree to which the movement's demands are met willingly.

$$\text{Extent of Change} = a+d+(b-c)$$

Indices:

- a. number of laws changed
- b. number of instances in which new laws are followed
- c. number of instances in which new laws are violated without punishment
- d. number of symbolic changes (in creeds, songs, wordings, etc.)

The Extent of Restoration of Equilibrium is the degree to which the opposition can defend its map in terms of the new social reality (Figure 2.26). This is indicated by

Extent of Restoration = a

- a. number of "god" terms in rhetoric of opposition determined through a content analysis to find redemption for opposition through changes in attitudes and policies.

Nonviolent Efficacy Theory (NVET) offers a means to describe and explain the use of nonviolent direct action with verbal rhetoric in a social movement. It also offers a means by which to predict the usefulness of such rhetoric in a given movement. Through analysis and measurement of each of the variables described here in terms of a historical movement, the theory may be tested and refined. For example, according to NVET the Level of Physical Power of movement followers should correlate with the Level of Power of that movement. If in the analysis of a successful movement the researcher discovers that a movement weak in physical power was still quite powerful, this would suggest that a high level of physical power is not always essential to the success of a nonviolent movement.

If after analyzing many successful movements, the researcher finds that all of these movements contained a high Level of Physical Power, this would then suggest that

physical power is an important asset for a nonviolent movement to possess in order to reach its goals. If in the analysis of unsuccessful movements, it is found that all were weak in terms of physical power, this finding would reinforce the theory that nonviolent movements must have the potential for physical power in order to be successful.

Interactions of variables must be observed as well. A low potential for physical power may be compensated for by a strength in another area of the movement.

According to NVET, the two factors most important to the success of a movement are the Level of Cultural Preference for nonviolence and the Degree of Credibility of the standards, authorities, and concepts relied upon by the movement for the bases of logical and emotional appeals. If a culture does not respect nonviolence but instead believes reacting to violence with nonviolence to be a manifestation of cowardice, weakness, or stupidity, then obviously, nonviolence will not work as a means of persuasion. If an opposition group does not hold respect for the concepts, standards, and authorities invoked by the movement through its rhetoric, then such appeal will be easy to ignore or discredit. Finally, the opposition must recognize the personhood of movement followers. If the opposition does not believe the movement member to be fully human or above animal status, then the opposition will not perceive the member to be endowed with human needs and wants and will not

feel a common human bond or a need to grant basic human rights to movement followers.

These are the author's expectations. However, they may be disproved if a successful movement is found to be weak in the Level of Cultural Preference or Degree of Credibility.

In the following chapter, NVET will be utilized to analyze two successful nonviolent movements, the Indian Independence Movement, and the Civil Rights Movement in the U.S.A.

CHAPTER THREE
NONVIOLENCE AS A RHETORICAL STRATEGY IN THE INDIAN
INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT: NONVIOLENT EFFICACY
THEORY APPLIED

In this chapter, the Nonviolent Efficacy Theory (NVET) will be considered as a descriptive and explanatory analysis of the two historical movements on which this study focuses. The Indian Independence Movement and the U.S.A. Civil Rights Movement will be first described in terms of the 16 significant variables in and around the movements. Then the two movements will be compared and contrasted in terms of these variables and their indices. For easier understanding the 16 variables are grouped into four clusters. First, those variables which affect the potential for power of the movement in terms of political, economic, and physical power within the social structure in which the movement occurs will be analyzed. Secondly, the variables which affect the opposition's predisposition to be or not be persuaded by the movement will be analyzed. Third, the rhetoric of the movement and the opposition will be analyzed, and, fourth, the aftereffects of the movement will be analyzed. The third and fourth groupings of variables may only be analyzed in historical studies such as this one. In the study of contemporary movements the third

and fourth clusters may be analyzed as events unfolding. In the study of movements originating, predictions about the efficacy of nonviolence might be made according to the analysis of the first two clusters through comparison and contrast of the movement originating with movements of the past. The quotations used in support of various points in the NVET represent consistent themes and arguments utilized by King and Gandhi. These quotations were selected after extensive study of Gandhi's works produced over the nearly 40-year period of his public activity and of King's works available through his own books, biographies on his life, and materials available at the King Center for Nonviolent Change in Atlanta, Georgia.

Variables Affecting the Movement's Potential for Power

According to the NVET, seven variables affect the potential for power of the movement. These include the Level of Exposure (to Movement Rhetoric), the Level of Identification followers feel with movement rhetoric, the Level of Unity (among followers), the Level of Motivation (among followers), the Extent of Economic and Political Influence (of followers), the Level of Potential Physical Power (of movement), and the Degree of Credibility (of concepts, standards, and higher authorities) referred to in rhetoric of the movement.

Level of Exposure (to Movement Rhetoric)

The Indian Independence Movement occurred prior to the advent of television and also prior to the widespread use of radio in India. Therefore, Gandhi relied heavily on the print media and oral communication as he tried to convey his message to India's vast population, as well as to British leaders. Gandhi himself authored most of the movement's literature. While in South Africa he published three pamphlets for the purpose of making known the injustice of discriminatory practices against Indians. An Appeal to Every Briton in South Africa (1894) and The Indian Franchise; An Appeal (1894) were circulated in South Africa. The third pamphlet, known as The Green Pamphlet because of the color of its binding, was first published in 1896 with the 10,000 copies being sent to South Africa. Gandhi later printed a second 10,000 which sold quickly in India. In 1903, Gandhi helped found a weekly newspaper entitled Indian Opinion, and he wrote his first book, Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule, in 1909.

In 1919, Gandhi founded two weekly periodicals to use primarily as personal organs to communicate with a limited readership. Young India was an English-language weekly in which Gandhi wrote a short article each week entitled My Experiments with Truth. These articles were later combined in a book by the same name. Navajivan, a Gujarati-language weekly, was founded at the same time. Harijan, a magazine

expounding the injustices of "untouchability," replaced Young India in 1933. In 1930 Gandhi wrote the book From Yeravda Mandir while he was imprisoned in a Yeravda jail. "Mandir" means "palace"; calling the jail a palace expressed his pride in being imprisoned for a good cause. In this book, he expresses his beliefs about God in relation to humanity.

Louis Fischer (1950), in his work on Gandhi, states that even though Gandhi's papers were not circulated to a large readership, almost everything Gandhi wrote was "reprinted in the entire Indian press." At that time, though, the entire Indian press was comprised of only 174 publications with a combined readership of a meager 1% of the entire Indian population. Also, even though Gandhi was a prolific writer, as late as 1959 only 1% of India's population had even secondhand access to a newspaper, and the country had an illiteracy rate of over 50% (UNESCO, Handbook of International Trade and Development, 1974). However, newspapers were often read aloud to others by the literate. Therefore, much information dissemination was dependent upon the functioning of word-of-mouth channels. "Distances are great in India," states Fischer, "and communications bad; few people can read and fewer possess radios. Therefore, the ear of India is big and sensitive" (p. 137). In other words, word-of-mouth channels functioned well simply because this was often the sole source of information.

Though Gandhi professed not to enjoy public speaking and considered himself a poor speaker, he obviously realized the necessity of utilizing this channel as a means of communicating with the Indian masses. He did much public speaking. Because poor transportation systems and the poverty of the majority of his intended audience made their travel to hear him speak difficult to impossible, Gandhi instead travelled to them. In 1920, he toured India for 7 months speaking to massive audiences, some of which numbered more than 100,000. He stopped not only in large cities but in small and isolated villages as well.

Again in 1926 he travelled through the country on a speaking tour but was forced to cut the circuit short for reasons of poor health. Everywhere he spoke, he enlisted the support of his audience; he encouraged them to adapt the lifestyle of the satyagrahi and to follow the principles of nonviolence in their communities. Ahimsa (lacking any desire to kill) and satyagraha were advocated not only for relations with the British but for interpersonal relations in the smallest communities between all individuals, between family members, between friends, between Hindu and Moslem, between untouchables and the rest of society.

He also explained the strategies of noncooperation particularly when a call to mass demonstration was in the foreseeable future. He charged his listeners to participate in noncooperative measures with confidence, commitment, and

without violence in action, word, or even thought against the opposition. Satyagraha was more than a persuasive strategy; it was a way of life.

Multitudinous activities were generated by Gandhi's charge to the people. Ashrams, or self-supporting farms, were established to cultivate the lifestyle of the truly committed satyagrahi. Meetings to explain the strategy and lifestyle were conducted, marches were organized, and literacy campaigns begun.

While Gandhi was walking his message to the four corners of India, he was also reaching out to the British through written appeals such as the earlier-mentioned pamphlet, An Appeal to Every Briton in South Africa, as well as through letters to British newspapers and letters to individual Britons of significant political power. Late in the movement, he travelled to England to meet with British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald in the Round Table Conference concerning Home Rule for India.

The major purpose of the Round Table Conference was to build a constitution for India. Yet, members of the British delegation openly admitted that their purpose was to "give effect to the views of India" while maintaining their own position and control there (Fischer, 1950). Consequently, the session resulted in little or no change in Indian Rule.

Gandhi, however, did not spend his time in London speaking only with Conference delegates. While there, he

again took his message to the people by visiting the textile mills and speaking with the workers. He wanted to speak with these Britons especially, since these were the people hardest hit by his instigation of the Indian boycott of foreign goods. Gandhi wanted to explain to the workers the reasons behind the boycott. The trip was recorded as a newsreel that was shown in British and U.S.A. cinemas.

The first references to Gandhi in the London Times were meager. He was mentioned in approximately 11 articles per year until the beginning of World War I, during which he was evidently not deemed newsworthy at all (Index of London Times, 1906-1950). In 1919, his name and cause reappear in the Times and are featured frequently from that year on. Between 1926 and 1933, Gandhi and Home Rule are mentioned on a daily basis and in 21 leading articles. This journalistic interest was mainly in response to major direct action campaigns such as the foreign goods boycott, the no-tax campaigns, arrests of Gandhi and other movement followers, hartals, and the Great Salt March (Index of the New York Times, 1920-1930). By the mid-1930s and until his assassination in 1948, Gandhi was a prominent news figure in London, in India, and, in fact, throughout the world. In the Times his stories gained more prominence as they began to appear on pages 3, 4, and 5 rather than on pages 10-16.

Similar to Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., was also a prolific writer and public speaker. However, unlike Gandhi,

King also had the channels of radio and television at his command. Complete information on the number of news stories in which King and the Civil Rights Movement were subjects was not accessible. However, the Bulletin of Public Affairs Information Service was of use in obtaining a list of major news broadcasts. This index is not exhaustive since its purpose is to index only those sources of information containing current and significant statistical data for utilization by governmental agencies and personnel. A search of this index indicated that the earliest significant news broadcast by or about King was a segment of National Broadcasting Company's Meet the Press radio and television program that aired April, 1960. King was interviewed and allowed the opportunity to explain his views on segregation legislation and on the nonviolent resistance campaign in the south. He appeared twice more on Meet the Press. On the first of these appearances aired in August, 1963, he was asked to speak about the upcoming march on Washington, and in 1965 he was asked to speak on the future of Civil Rights in the U.S.A. In 1963, National Educational Radio and Television produced a documentary entitled The Negro Protest, featuring interviews with King, James Baldwin, and Malcolm X.

The Index of the New York Times listed an average of between 100-200 stories on King or stories in which he was mentioned per year. This figure represents an average of

nearly one story every other day between 1958-1968. The Atlanta Constitution ran front-page stories on the issues of segregation and legislation concerning it in nearly every issue between 1958 and 1964.

The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature lists 244 articles on King beginning in 1955 and waning in 1969, one year following his assassination. These articles appeared in 35 different magazines ranging from news magazines to religious to fashion periodicals. During this period, Newsweek ran 35 of these stories; U.S. News and World Report and Time ran 21 stories each. Christian Century featured 31 articles. Magazines targeting a black readership included the Negro History Bulletin and Ebony with 15 and 14 articles, respectively. Magazines for women manifested less interest in the movement in only five articles, three in Good Housekeeping, one in McCall's, and one in Redbook. Reader's Digest, the periodical with the largest readership of all, ran only four articles on King, three after his death and the first as late as 1967.

The mass media constitute an important communication channel in the United States because of their extreme pervasiveness. According to UNESCO Report on World Communication, one radio per person existed in the U.S.A. in 1962, and radios could be found in 97% of all U.S.A. homes. Eighty-nine percent of the U.S.A. population had access to a television set, and 31% had access to one of 220 daily

newspapers published at that time. Also, the literacy rate for the nation in the 1950's was estimated at a little over 90%.

Although King had the advantages of exposure to the public via the mass media, he suffered the disadvantages of such notoriety as well. Though the ethics of the journalistic profession require objectivity in reporter and reporting, it is easy to conjecture that much movement coverage or lack thereof reflected at least some of the personal biases of communication agents of media largely controlled by members of the movement's opposition. Wisely, King did not rely solely on the reports of others. He wrote four books in which he described the plight of blacks in the U.S.A. and the injustices in the nation's social system. He also explained his philosophy and described the strategy of nonviolent direct action. Each of these publications, Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story (1958), Why We Can't Wait (1963), Strength to Love (1964), and Where Do We Go From Here (1967), were well received and sold over 20,000 copies apiece (Oates, 1982). King also authored many articles, letters to the editor, and letters to individuals. His "Letter From a Birmingham Jail" (1965) has become a literary classic, alone the subject of numerous analyses.

King, like Gandhi, relied heavily on speaking engagements and meetings where he addressed hundreds to thousands of listeners. Activities inspired by the movement included

organization of university student groups for civil rights, nonviolent protest seminars, lectures, marches, and voter registration campaigns.

To make a general comparison between the Degree of Exposure (to movement rhetoric) for each movement, one can conclude that exposure was extensive in both cases. Gandhi did work under the relative handicap of not being able to utilize a widely accessible mass-mediated channel, such as radio or television. His limited channels of written communication were more significantly hampered by the low rate of literacy for India at that time. Yet, Gandhi compensated for this through rigorous and comprehensive nationwide speaking tours. King did have widely accessible mass-mediated channels at his disposal, and this difference may suggest a partial explanation for the temporal differences in the length of the movements between the leaders' original identification with the causes and subsequent significant results. Gandhi was first identified with satyagraha and Indian Home Rule in 1896, and India gained independence August 15, 1947, after a continuous 51-year effort. King was first strongly identified with nonviolence and Civil Rights when he was placed in charge of the Montgomery bus boycott in December, 1955. The Civil Rights Amendment was passed in 1964 after a relatively short 9-year-long effort.

Further similarities in the Degree of Exposure of the two movements include the fact that both leaders were

continuously, tirelessly communicating their ideas to followers and opposition members through speeches, letters, meetings, articles, books, and letters to editors. Both virtually inundated all channels at their disposal with movement rhetoric to the best of their human capabilities. Finally, both men were allowed to communicate in a political environment that for the most part did not place restrictions on their rights to speak, write, and organize meetings in open opposition to the status quo and parties in power.

To summarize then, both movements were able to generate many and frequent messages. One would have to be quite isolated from or selective about sources of information in order NOT to be exposed to the rhetoric of these impressive movements. According to the Nonviolent Efficacy Theory (NVET), such a high Degree of Exposure (to movement rhetoric) should positively influence the Level of Identification that followers develop toward the movement. It should also directly influence the Level of Persuasibility of members of the opposition as well as indirectly influence other movement variables. To test this relationship, the continuing analysis is necessary.

Level of Identification (of Followers with Movement)

The Level of Identification with movement rhetoric has been defined as the degree to which followers feel personally involved with the movement. Obviously, a viable means

of assessing attitudes in a contemporary movement would be the utilization of a random attitudinal survey of the population in question, a task not now possible, regretfully. However, valid indicators might also include the average number of times common higher authorities, standards, or concepts are used in movement rhetoric. These would include scriptural references, legal references, and ideological values which are respected by the audience. Movement planners or leaders may have also utilized cultural artifacts such as clothing or possessions which take on special meaning for that audience. Of course, the Degree of Exposure to movement rhetoric will affect an audience's response to it.

As stated earlier, Gandhi and King both were tireless communicators. An analysis of all their messages would not be feasible. This analysis has been, therefore, limited to two collections of quotations: The Words of Gandhi (1983) compiled by Sir Richard Attenborough, student of Gandhi and director of the Academy-Award-winning movie Gandhi and The Words of Martin Luther King, Jr. (1983) compiled by Coretta Scott King. The rationale for choosing these two collections for analysis is that they are similar in format and both were compiled as representations of the "cream" from a vast literature of oral and written philosophies. The passages in each book were chosen by persons who knew these leaders well enough to select quotations that capture the

essence of King's and Gandhi's messages. Each book was read once. Then each was read again, and those concepts, authorities, and standards to whom the speaker referred in support of a point were recorded.

An analysis of Gandhi's selected quotations included references to the following religious and national concepts. The number of references to each appear in parentheses. A reference is regarded as a word or a phrase employed by the message sender.

Religious authorities, standards, and concepts

God (21)	Hinduism (1)
Creator (2)	Mantra: Sacred formula or chant (1)
Atman: eternal, timeless, imperishable, being (2)	Brachmacharva: Vow of sexual abstinence (1)
Enlightened One (1)	Advaita: One of the principal branches of Vedanta (1)
Ravana: in Hinduism; the superhuman demonic opponent of Rama who is the human form of God (1)	Dharma: Preordained duty of the individual (1)
Bible (2)	Ahimsa: Nonviolence (1)
Gita: One of Hinduism's most important religious writings (1)	Golden Rule: "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you (1)
Shastras: Orthodox sacred books of India (2)	
Koran: Islamic sacred book (1)	

National authorities, standards, and concepts

General Smuts: Minister of South Africa (1)	Liberty/Freedom (5)
Democracy (5)	Unity (1)
India/Patriotism (5)	Citizen's Rights (1)
	Excerpt from Declaration of Independence (1)
	Swarajya (1)

Cultural/scientific/philosophical/artistic concepts, standards, and authorities

Shakespeare (1)	Strength/Force/Power/
Wordsworth (1)	Courage (30)
Thoreau (1)	Truth (7)

Newton (1)
Max Muller (1)

Love (4)
Art (2)

King, in these selected quotations, referred to the following:

Religious standards, concepts, and authorities

God (13)	Higher Law (1)
Jesus (3)	Bible (1)
St. Augustine (1)	Biblical Excerpts (4)
Moses (1)	
Church (1)	

National standards, concepts, and authorities

Gandhi (3)	America's glorious
Freedom (16)	opportunity (1)
Justice (2)	American History (1)
Democracy (2)	American Life (1)
Citizenship (1)	American Dream (1)
Boston Tea Party (1)	Excerpts from National
First Amendment (1)	Songs (2)
Excerpts from the	
Declaration of	
Independence (2)	

Cultural authorities, concepts, and standards

Love (16)
Family Relationships (13)

Both King and Gandhi "keyed in" to values basic to the religious, political, and social beliefs of their audiences through allusions to personages, institutions, events, and phrases that would trigger automatic positive responses in their listeners. These responses could bring to mind whole chains of connotations linked to a particular word or phrase. The Indian population was predominantly of Hindu and Moslem religious teaching. A familiarity with Christianity was an inevitable effect of British Rule and missionary efforts in

the colonial state. Also, as a British colony, a value for patriotism, national pride, and the privileges of democracy was instilled in these subjects of the Queen. In a religious vein, Gandhi believed in sacrifice, love, nonviolence in action, word, and thought. At first glance, such rhetoric may seem to suggest submission or passivity, yet Gandhi wove a message of power, courage, and force throughout his words, forming a seemingly contradictory theme which is common in much Indian philosophy.

It is necessary to understand what the phrase "strength to fight" means. . . . It does not mean only physical strength. Everyone who has courage in him can have the strength to fight and everyone who has given up fear of death has such strength. . . . Thus, the day India gives up fear we shall be able to say that she has the strength to fight. It is not at all true to say that, to be able to fight, it is essential to acquire the ability to use arms; the moment, therefore, a man wakes up to the power of the soul, that very moment he comes to know the strength he has for fighting. That is why I believe that he is the true warrior who does not die killing but who has mastered the mantra of living by dying. The sages who discovered the never-failing law of nonviolence were themselves great warriors. When they discovered the ignoble nature of armed strength and realized the true nature of man, they discerned the law of nonviolence pervading this world all full of violence. They then taught us that the atman can conquer the whole world, that the greatest danger to the atman comes from itself. (Gandhi, 1982, pp. 68, 69)

And so I am not pleading for India to practice nonviolence because she is weak. I want her to practice nonviolence being conscious of her strength and power. No training in arms is required for realization of her strength. We seem to need it because we seem to think we are but a lump of flesh. I want India to recognize that she has a soul that cannot perish and that can rise triumphant above every physical weakness and defy the physical combination of a whole world. What is the meaning

of Rama, a mere human being, with his host of monkeys, pitting himself against the insolent strength of ten-headed Ravana surrounded in supposed safety by the raging waters on all sides of Lanka? Does it not mean the conquest of physical might with spiritual strength? (Gandhi, 1982, p. 52)

The dominating theme of force and courage must have had an almost compelling attraction to the masses of poverty-stricken Indians who felt themselves to be helpless victims of circumstances with no control over their own lives.

Similarly, King keyed in to two strong value systems functioning within the culture of the U.S.A.; the Judeo-Christian ethic and the spirit of democracy. A national folk saying states that something is really "American" if it is as "American as Mother, Home, and Apple Pie." Another popular motto relates to the honor of doing something for "God and Country." The values reflected in these sayings are reflected in King's rhetoric as well. The U.S.A. is predominantly a Christian nation, particularly in the deep south where the black population is most dense. King acknowledges these values that were, in fact, his own in allusions to Christian doctrine. He also uses many family metaphors reflecting a value concerning the importance of family and the responsibilities of family members to one another. The following excerpts are examples of King's use of words, phrases, and concepts which indicate that his arguments are supported by family, God, and country. The following statement, made at the initial meeting for the Montgomery bus boycott, reveals King's vision of blacks as Christians and Americans.

We are tired of being segregated and humiliated. . . . If we protest courageously, and yet with dignity and Christian love, when the history books are written in the future, somebody will have to say, "There lived a race of people, of black people, of people who had the moral courage to stand up for their rights. And thereby they injected a new meaning into the veins of history and civilization." (King, 1958, p.63)

In the following quotations, King places the opposition to his cause in league with communism and also refers to familial duty.

Nothing provides the communists with a better climate for expansion and infiltration than the continued alliance of our nation with racism and exploitation throughout the world. If we are not diligent in our determination to root out the last vestiges of racism in our dealings with the rest of the world, we may soon see the sins of our fathers visited upon our and succeeding generations. (King, 1983, p. 39)

Perhaps it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say, "Wait." But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; . . . then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. (King, 1964, p. 83)

The Negro cannot win . . . if he is willing to sell the future of his children for his personal and immediate comfort and safety. (King, 1983, p. 43)

There is nothing that expressed massive civil disobedience any more than the Boston Tea Party, and yet we give this to our young people and our students as a part of a great tradition of our nation. So, I think we are in good company when we break unjust laws. (King, 1983, p. 42)

In these quotations King appeals to Christian ideals of being one's brother's keeper, yet he adeptly includes non-blacks and non-Christians in his appeal.

Every man must decide whether he will walk in the light of creative altruism or darkness of

destructive selfishness. This is the judgment. Life's most persistent and urgent question is "What are we doing for others?" (King, 1983, p. 17)

In the final analysis the white man cannot ignore the Negro's problem, because he is a part of the Negro and the Negro is part of him. The Negro's agony diminishes the white man, and the Negro's salvation enlarges the white man. (King, 1983, p. 22)

It is true that there are devout believers in non-violence who find it difficult to believe in a personal God. But even these persons believe in the existence of some creative force that works for universal wholeness. Whether we call it unconscious process, an impersonal Brahman, or a Personal Being of matchless powers and infinite love, there is a creative force in this universe that works to bring the disconnected aspects of reality into a harmonious whole. (King, 1958, p. 107)

Gandhi and King both spoke to "the People" through non-verbal symbols that conveyed the message that each leader was a true representative of the masses he was leading. Gandhi, who had initially taken great pride in his manner of dressing as well as any London barrister, shed his foreign garb in 1897 for a simple white loin cloth and sandals (Fischer, 1950). He walked almost everywhere he travelled, lived very simply on the ashram where he enjoyed minimal possessions and a simple diet. His days outside movement activities were spent quite simply in reading, praying, walking, and spinning. He made a special point to go out among the people, even those in small remote villages. This great leader was not someone far away and inaccessible but a man of simple means with whom it was possible actually to meet and exchange words. He even went among the class of Indian society who

were referred to as the "untouchables," squatting down among them and conversing with them in their segregated groups.

King, along with Ralph Abernathy, his assistant, donned a work shirt and blue jeans in attempting to identify with the common black worker in the Birmingham march. Yet for the most part, King's lifestyle, clothing, transportation, and material possessions reflected not the common person but rather the realization of a status to which most blacks believed it impossible to aspire.

In reaching out to their audiences both King and Gandhi utilized appeals that reflected the religious and political values with which their audiences could identify. The differences in their appeals reflect differences in Indian and U.S.A. values. While both leaders spoke of international brotherhood and the worldwide interdependence of humanity, Gandhi supported his rhetoric from a more eclectic array of religious and political sources. He not only quoted Hindu and Moslem leaders and doctrines, but Jewish and Christian as well. He also quotes British, American, German, and Russian thinkers, politicians, scholars, and writers. The people of India are in general more concerned with religious differences than political differences. According to Smith (1967), a "common mistake in dealing with India is the tendency to underestimate the influence of religion. . . . Educated according to Western tradition and imbued with Western ideas of nationalism, they are apt to forget that while patriotism

is a very modern concept in India the feud between Hindus and Moslems has lasted for nearly a thousand years" (p. 2).

Gandhi could quote philosophers from other nations, statesmen, writers, etc. without too many qualms of offending the political beliefs of his Indian listeners. With the religious beliefs of his Indian listeners, he had to be more careful. Therefore, he called himself a Hindu by birth and upbringing but made it clear that he believed in a universal religion enveloping Christianity, Judaism, Islam, etc. In this way he avoided alienating Hindus who might accuse him of defecting while identifying with audience members of many other faiths. Sometimes Gandhi emphasizes the similarities in people of different faiths as in the following:

Notwithstanding the differences of nomenclature in Hinduism and Islam, we all believe in one and the same God. To pledge ourselves or to take an oath in the name of God or with Him as a witness is not something to be trifled with. (Gandhi, 1983, p. 74)

If we have listening ears, God speaks to us in our own language, whatever language that be. (Gandhi, 1983, p. 74)

Other times, Gandhi emphasizes the similarities in differing religions.

The Bible is as much a book of religion with me as the Gita and the Koran. (Gandhi, 1983, p. 74)

Religions are different roads converging upon the same point. What does it matter that we take different roads so long as we reach the same goal. (Gandhi, 1983, p. 75)

I believe in the fundamental truth of all great religions of the world. I believe that they are all God-given and I believe that they were necessary for the people to whom these religions were

revealed. And I believe that if only we could all of us read the scriptures of the different faiths from the standpoint of the followers of these faiths, we should find that they were at the bottom all one and were all helpful to one another. (Gandhi, 1983, p. 78)

These references seem to reflect Gandhi's personal beliefs and also an acknowledgment of religious differences within his audience and the importance of downplaying the significance of these differences and emphasizing the similarities between all persons of faith.

King, on the other hand, addressed an audience more homogeneous in religious beliefs. Although denominational differences existed in the U.S.A., his audience was composed almost exclusively of Christians and Jews, in a nation strongly influenced by both religious doctrines. King's rhetoric reflects this almost monotheistic and monodoctrinal characteristic of his listeners. His religious references are almost exclusively Biblically based.

It is pretty difficult to like some people . . . but Jesus says love them, and love is greater than like. (King, 1983, p. 37)

These developments should not surprise any student of history. Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The yearning for freedom eventually manifests itself. The Bible tells the thrilling story of how Moses stood in Pharoah's court centuries ago and cried, "Let my people go." (King, 1983, p. 59)

But never forget that there is a first and even greater commandment, "Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and all thy soul and all thy mind." This is the height of life and when you do this you live the complete life. (King, 1983, p. 64)

Whenever the church, consciously or unconsciously, caters to one class it loses the spiritual force of the "whosoever will, let him come" doctrine and is in danger of becoming little more than a social club with a thin veneer of religiosity. (King, 1958, p. 25)

I still believe that one day mankind will bow before the altars of God and be crowned triumphant over war and bloodshed, and nonviolent redemptive good will will proclaim the rule of the land. "And the lion and the lamb shall lie down together and every man shall sit under his own vine and fig tree and none shall be afraid." I still believe that we shall overcome. (King, 1983, p. 91)

Gandhi refers to God as "God," "Creator," "Atman," and "Enlightened One." King refers to "God" and to "Jesus." It is predictable that King would have lost credibility if he weakened his strong ties to the Christian Church by introducing other religious doctrines to his messages with any frequency. Gandhi, on the other hand, spoke to an audience to which it was necessary to include references to many doctrines.

Another significant difference among the authorities, standards, and concepts used by each leader to support their respective claims is King's utilization of family metaphors and Gandhi's emphasis on power and strength of the individual. Emphasis on the familial unit and on strength of the individual may be indicative of the views each speaker wanted their audiences to develop concerning the relationship to the opposition and vice versa. King wanted blacks and whites to see themselves as brothers and sisters in one large Christian family. Gandhi wanted the British and Indians to

view India as a nation grown to independent adulthood, capable of self-rule. The thrust of King's argument was that blacks are not the servants nor even the stepchildren of the nation. They represent full-blooded brothers and sisters who deserve the same degree of nurturing, protection, sustenance, and privileges as other family members. The U.S.A. is the parent, the constitution a family agreement, and the white majority "older" siblings who are bullying their younger brothers and sisters. The "big kids" are denying equal shares of parental provisions to the "smaller, younger children."

Gandhi paints the picture of the independent adult who is many years past the appropriate age for leaving the parents' home. The emphasis is not on a familial tie that is being neglected, rather a familial tie that is existing past a time when it is appropriate.

Again, King's nonverbal artifacts, car, dress, house, etc., are those of the child growing up with all the advantages that the nation as a parent can provide. Gandhi's nonverbal artifacts reflect the child rebelling against parental authority and rejecting the parents' values. He rejects the industrialization, the modernization, the progress of Britain and surrounds himself with sparse, simple, handmade items, such as his white loin cloth, sandals, spinning wheel. He also lived on the ashram in simple quarters, living on a sparse home-grown diet.

Though differing in many ways because of differences in issues and audience, King's and Gandhi's rhetoric was similar in that they do paint visions of reality that seem realistic and compatible to the value systems of their respective audiences. In both cases, therefore, the Degree of Identification of followers with movement rhetoric was quite high.

Level of Unity (among Followers)

The Level of Unity (among Followers) has been defined as the extent to which an organization lacks divisive factors, infighting, and feels indicators of unity are the number of prominent acknowledged leaders within the movement, the number of followers each claims, and the extent of the differences that exist between leaders and their respective factions.

In India, Gandhi figured as the one dominant leader, yet this should not indicate that other leaders were not present nor that they always agreed with him. Opposition to Gandhi fell into three main categories: those who thought he was too extreme, those who thought he was not militant enough, and those who were offended or confused by Gandhi's reluctance to work for the abolition of the caste system (Thursby, 1983). The major issue of controversy dealt not with Home Rule, for almost all of India was in support of swaraj. However, Gandhi's extreme adherence to nonviolent tactics was not always supported. Also, in the case of Home Rule, the issue of whether or not to be a united independent state or two

states, one Moslem and one Hindu, was an issue that split the movement in half.

Gandhi was in favor of a united India. Moslems and Hindus formed the two major forces in Indian politics. Jawaharlal Nehru was leader of the Hindu faction; Mohammed Ali Jinnah led the Moslem faction. Nehru, for the most part, was a follower of Gandhi, although sometimes he was doubtful and frustrated by Gandhi's religious idealism and passive strategies (Fischer, 1950). Jinnah, on the other hand, actively disliked Gandhi and opposed him directly on the issue of partition (Fischer, 1950). Unlike Gandhi, Jinnah wanted an independent India divided in separate Hindu and Moslem nations. He feared that a united independent state would simply change the nation's government from a British raj to a Hindu raj. Jinnah had the support of wealthy land-owning Moslems who stood to benefit economically from a divided nation. He gained the support of the Moslem peasants by stirring up religious controversies.

On the issue of Home Rule, as mentioned previously, no significant factions emerged within the movement. The conflict over this issue contributed to instances of violence against British military forces, and these outbursts saddened Gandhi greatly (Gandhi, 1969). However, on the issue of partition, the population was split quite decisively between Gandhi and unity on one hand and Jinnah and partition on the other (Fischer, 1950). The equal power of these

factions, combined with the religious aspects and differences between factions, caused enormous friction within the movement to the point of civil war.

Within the Civil Rights Movement in the U.S.A., several significant factions existed; at one end of the spectrum were the black moderate groups, upper-class blacks who had fought hard for what they had and who did not care to risk the loss of what gains they had made. These people were wary of King's direct tactics, fearing that this would simply anger whites with whom they had satisfactory relationships (Oates, 1982). If change came, they were content for such change to be effected slowly with less bold strategies and less challenging rhetoric. In polar opposition stood the Black Power advocates who were tired of waiting. These people were angry, were ready to risk, and wanted to take by force, if necessary, what they believed to be theirs. Theirs was a rhetoric of swiftness, of demand, of violence, and of threats of civil war (Marx, 1971).

Black Nationalist groups disagreed with the Civil Rights Movement at large on the basic premise that integration was a viable means to equality. Black Cultural Nationalists placed primary emphasis on the development of black cultural art forms, believing that blacks must be concerned with self-determination, race pride, and the "pursuit of blackness" (Marx, 1971).

A short-lived group of Black Revolutionary Nationalists believed that the only answer to black oppression at the international level was the attainment or seizure of power. Equality was not the goal, rather domination (Marx, 1971).

Groups of Black Separatists such as the Black Muslims and the Republic of New Africa sought physical, geographical separation from whites as a means to equality and dominance. Stokely Carmichael (cited in Marx, 1971) accused the Civil Rights Movement and Martin Luther King, Jr., of not being simply ineffective in nonviolent methods but of actually causing further frustration and deeper anger in young ghetto blacks. He spoke of nonviolence as an appeal to weakness that could only work if human nature were basically good. Carmichael differed from King when he stated that humanity is basically selfish and that blacks could no longer depend on the basic goodness of whites to right past wrongs (Marx, 1971).

King acknowledged the factions within the movement and strove to unite them. Perhaps this contributed to his ability to maintain overall leadership in the face of so many disagreements on primary issues. A 1964 Newsweek poll of Negro opinion revealed that 95% of active movement participants and 80% of the general black population regarded King as their most successful spokesperson (cited in Dye, 1971).

To sum up, the Level of Unity (among followers) for the Indian Independence Movement must be expressed in terms of two

major issues. On the issue of Home Rule, Gandhi was the single acknowledged leader who united all of India in action to gain independence of Britain. Yet, on the issue of partition the movement was significantly and cripplingly divided. Jinnah was a powerful leader in his own right and was successful in undermining Gandhi's influence on the issue.

For the Civil Rights Movement the opposite may be observed. Factions and controversies concerning the goal and strategies of the movement were numerous. Leaders of various groups were quite vocal and were able to gather followers. However, none were able significantly to weaken the movement-at-large under King's leadership. King, among other influences, was even able to "convert" black extremist Malcolm X to his goal of integration and peace between the races (Oates, 1982). For the most part, the Civil Rights Movement was a united front.

Level of Motivation (among Followers)

The Level of Motivation is the extent to which followers are willing to act, to risk property, family, injury, and death. It may be indicated by the number of people willing to say that they are part of the cause; willing to participate in activities; willing to donate time, money, and resources; risk loss of money, property, job, life, and limb.

Beginning in South Africa, Gandhi's first called meeting to discuss the discriminatory practices against Indians in 1907 in Natal drew an audience of 500. In 1908, he inspired 2,000 Indians to burn their certificates, their passes issued by the South African government. In 1913, 2,037 men, 127 women, and 57 children participated in a march to protest unfair taxation, and all were arrested. Twelve thousand participated in a strike on British sugar mills to protest unfair labor practices. Fifteen thousand participated in salt raids to protest a British ban on Indian salt manufacturing. Two hundred ninety of those were injured; two died. Millions joined in Gandhi's nationwide hartal, a day of strike, fasting, and prayer for Independence. The nation also united effectively to boycott the use of foreign products. Bonfires were attended across the country to burn publicly foreign cloth and products. As a result, 30,000 protesters were jailed only to have 50,000 others gather to replace them (Diwankar, 1949).

In every action taken, followers also risked loss. Striking workers lost wages and jobs. Noncooperators were publicly flogged. Demonstrators were beaten, arrested, and killed (Fischer, 1950). The most tragic instance of such punitive action occurred in Jallianwala Bagh when Brigadier General Reginald Edward Henry Dyer, in his zeal to insure the enforcement of a new ordinance forbidding public assembly,

opened fire on an unarmed group of Indians within an enclosed garden. With no warning, no escape route, the villagers were shot like fish in a barrel. Three hundred seventy-nine were killed, and 1,137 were wounded. Records show that 1,516 casualties resulted from 1,650 shots fired. Only 134 bullets missed a mark (East India Report of Investigative Committee, 1920, cited in Fischer, 1950).

These numbers indicate the willingness of movement followers to continue their struggle even when faced with great risk. Gandhi set a good example by risking his life on more than one occasion in leading demonstrations and in fasting.

In the U.S.A., the Civil Rights Movement under King's leadership began with the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955. To be successful, the participants had to be committed to the cause despite the inconvenience of not using the city buslines for over a year. Angry whites shot at busses carrying blacks, shot a pregnant woman, and beat a teenage girl. King's home was bombed, and he and others, such as E. D. Nixon, another Civil Rights leader, received threats to their lives (Oates, 1982). Still, the boycott continued.

In 1962 in Atlanta, 75 students participated in a sit-in at segregated lunch counters and all were arrested (Atlanta Constitution, 1962). In Birmingham, 65 participated in sit-ins and were also arrested. In March of the same year, 1,500 participated in a demonstration march in Birmingham. On

April 20, 1,000 participated in the Children's March during which 250 were jailed and many injured by firehoses and police dogs, but the number of marches grew instead of diminishing. Then, on Sunday, May 5, 3,000 participants in the Birmingham Prayer Pilgrimage were arrested only to have 4,000 more paraders and picketers replace them (Oates, 1982).

In 1965 in Chicago, 30,000 people marched on City Hall to join 6,000 more gathered to hear King speak. A later march began with 600 participants, then swelled to a crowd of 2,500.

The 1966 march through Mississippi began with a troop of 1,300 which rose to 2,000. An average of 3,000 attended rallies at stopping points around the state with 15,000 in Jackson at the march's end. In Philadelphia, Mississippi, marchers were attacked and beaten so King led a group of 300 back to the town to demonstrate their commitment and courage in the face of such violence. In Memphis in April 1968, 13,000 black sanitation workers went on strike for equal wages, and in Washington, 250,000 participated in the march and rally there in 1963. According to a 1963 poll recorded in the Politics of Equality (Dye, 1971), 12% of all blacks had participated in movement marches, 9% had picketed, 8% had participated in sit-ins, and 4% had gone to jail for civil disobedience.

Movement participants faced dangers that were very real. In 1961 two busloads of "Freedom Riders," groups of blacks and whites who wanted to test the Deep South's public

transportation facilities on its self-reported integrations status, were beaten by angry local whites. In 1962, four black churches were dynamited in Albany. In 1963, a bomb in a Birmingham church killed four black preadolescent girls. King's brother's home was bombed at the same time as a hotel in which movement leaders were registered. In 1964, marchers in St. Augustine, Florida, led by Andrew Jackson, were beaten with bicycle chains and lead pipes. In 1966, the march through Mississippi resulted in 80 beatings, 2 gunshot wounds, 32 church and 31 home bombings, and 6 deaths. In the same year, marchers in Selma, Alabama, were beaten by white townspeople, four of them abducted and beaten with brass knuckles and ax handles. Two negro youths were also killed (Oates, 1981).

Again, these numbers, like those from the Indian Independence Movement, indicate a high Level of Motivation among followers in the Civil Rights Movement. Obviously, both groups felt their cause was worth suffering such atrocities and risking enormous personal losses. The movements continued in the face of terrible consequences. It is noteworthy that both leaders also risked their lives and were imprisoned several times. Both Gandhi and King stated that their movement's cause was well worth dying for, and it is noteworthy that both were assassinated for this refusal to be swayed by violence and threats of violence by members of the

opposition. The night before he was killed, King ended his speech at a Memphis rally by saying

Like anyone, I would like to live a long life; longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's will.
(King, 1968, p. 94)

He seemed to foresee his death and the death of others and tried to prepare followers frequently.

If you are cut down in a movement that is designed to save the soul of a nation, then no other death could be more redemptive. (King, 1983, p. 67)

A man who won't die for something is not fit to live. (King, 1983, p. 23)

Expressing even less anxiety concerning death, even his own, Gandhi expressed frequently that he was ready to die for his cause.

I have to resist your decision (for separate electorates for "Depressed Classes") with my life. The only way I can do it is by declaring a perpetual fast unto death. (Gandhi, cited in Fischer, 1982, p. 306)

There is only one course open to me, to die but not to submit to the law. . . . Everyone must be true to his pledge even unto death, no matter what others do. . . . Even if the unlikely happened and everyone else flinched, leaving me alone to face this muse, I am confident that I will never violate my pledge.
(Gandhi, cited in Fischer, 1982, p. 76)

Death is the appointed end of life. To die by the hand of a brother, rather than by disease or in such other way, cannot for me be a matter of sorrow. And if, even in such a case, I am free from the thought of anger or hatred against my assailant I know that that will redound to my eternal welfare, and even the assailant will later on realize my perfect innocence. (Gandhi, 1983, p. 81)

Extent of Economic and Political Influence (of the Movement)

The Extent of Economic and Political Influence as defined in the NVET is the financial resources as well as its leader's and follower's access to legal processes available to the movement. The indicators for this variable include the incomes of the followers in comparison to the incomes of movement members. Other indicators are the number of the society's policy and decision makers found among movement members compared to the number of policy and decisionmakers in the society-at-large; indicators such as the number of voters and governmental officials may offer this information. Also, at which level in the society these decisions are made should be noted, whether or not the official's function at a local or national level is an important factor. Finally, the economic interdependence of the two groups plays a role in the level to which one group may hold leverage over the other. The number of followers who depend on opposition members for an income and the number of opposition members who depend on opposition members for labor or for patronage are indicators of this interdependence or lack thereof.

In India, heavy taxation and suffocating restrictions on Indian industry and export in the financial interest of England stunted the financial and industrial growth of Indian society. The country, therefore, regressed to a purely agrarian nation with neither the overhead nor technology to make farming a profitable endeavor. According to Durant

(1930) in 1907 the annual average income for India's 100,000,000 farmers, that figure was as low as \$5.00. In 1915, the Statistical Department of Bengal, which was the most prosperous of all Indian provinces, reported that the mean income of laborers in that year was \$3.60 per month, and one half of that was claimed in taxes by the British government.

For those Indians who were successful in attaining jobs as government officials, a significant discrepancy in pay for equal work could be expected. In 1913, the population of India was approximately 242,000,000 Indians and 100,000 British. One of 45 British in residence in India held lucrative governmental positions, while 1 in 53,000 Indians were so employed by the government. In the Report of the Royal Commission of 1913-1915 (cited in Durant, 1930), it is reported that 11,004 government officials in India received pay of greater than Rs200 a month; 42% of those thus employed were Indian. (The worth of a rupee during this time was so unstable that it is difficult to translate its worth in terms of pounds or dollars.) As salaries increased, percentage of Indians receiving them decreased. Of those government officials paid in excess of Rs1,000 a month, 8% were Indian. Of this number, 97 posts paid over Rs,3000 a month, and only 1 was filled by an Indian; he was half British by birth.

Most Indians who were living comfortably to any degree were able to do so because they were employed by British government or industry. However, India as a nation was suffering great economic losses to the economic interests of Britain. Bertrand Russell reports in Freedom and Organization (Durant, 1930) that the annual savings of the United Kingdom in the years between 1840 and 1888 were estimated at L110,000,000 or over L300,000 a day. This was mostly profit from sale of British goods in India, sale of Indian goods abroad, and taxation of the Indian people. Also, in the 19th century, India sent 800,000 soldiers, 400,000 laborers and paid L450,000,000 to support British wars outside India (Durant, 1930).

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 did result in some reforms in the raj. Under these laws one quarter of the Indian population remained under native princes, who were free with their councils to govern their territories. However, their decisions were subject to approval by a British resident appointed to safeguard the interests of the Empire. The remaining provinces were "British provinces" which were governed by a hierarchy of legislative bodies. The provincial legislatures were comprised of 70% elected representatives and 25% British appointees. Yet even those elected representatives were subject to a property-limited franchise that enabled only 1 out of 250 Indian citizens to vote (Durant, 1930). Above the legislature functioned an Executive Council

administering law and order and taxation of the land; it was appointed and was responsible to the British authorities. A Ministerial Council chosen by the Provincial Governor from the leaders of the legislature also functioned in a higher position than the legislature. Ultimately, the governor was empowered to control the councils and the legislature. Appointed by the crown, responsible not to the Indian population but to the British Parliament, the governor was authorized to overrule the legislature and to institute laws whenever he chose.

The National or Central Legislature consisted of a lower house or Assembly of 134 with 31 of these appointed by the British and the remaining 103 elected by the populace meeting restrictive qualifications. Similarly, the Upper House or Council of State had 27 appointed members. Over these bodies the Viceroy and his Executive council held omnipotent legal veto and ratification.

As far as political influence is assessed, therefore, what little influence Indians possessed was superficial and insignificant. It is easy to see the appropriateness of Gandhi's use of parent-child authority struggle as a metaphor to describe British-Indian relations. Britain claimed to be giving India more responsibility for itself, yet Britain maintained ultimate control through its appointed governors and viceroys.

Economically, India as a nation was poverty-stricken. Those Indians with above-average living standards were dependent upon the British government or military for income and status. Those farmers subsisting on what they could eke out of the land independently were forced to give up half their meager earnings to taxation or lose their land and homes. To this extent all India was economically dependent on Britain. On the other hand, Indians outnumbered British residents nearly 2,500 to 1. Great Britain depended on cooperative laborers and taxpayers in order to realize their Indian profits. Also, India did possess some economic influence that could only be brought to bear by a united effort among the citizenry.

By contrast, in the U.S.A. in 1960, the median income of a white family was \$5,088, nearly double the \$2,520 expected by the average black family (Dye, 1971). Most whites completed 11 years of school compared to 8 years for the average black. Unemployment among whites was 5%, less than half the 10.2% suffered by the black population.

Blacks constituted 10.5% of the national population, yet their number was concentrated in the southern states where in some counties their numbers exceeded 50% of the total population. In a few counties in Mississippi and Alabama their numbers exceeded 80% of the total population. Yet, according to Civil Rights Commission Report (Sept., 1959), this was the area where blacks exercised the least

amount of political influence. In that year 62% of the white population of voting age in southern states were registered; only 25% of the black population claimed a similar status. This average did not represent a uniform pattern since in rural areas where blacks constituted more than 50% of the population, their de facto disenfranchisement was most prevalent. In 168 southern counties, blacks comprised greater than 50% of the county's population, but in 16 of these 168, not even one eligible black was registered to vote. In 49 others of these countries, less than 5% of eligible black voters were registered (Keesings Research Report, 1970).

Although theoretically blacks had the same opportunity to register as did whites, they were often intimidated by legal subterfuges designed to stymie their successful registration. Economic coercion was also utilized to discourage the registration of black employees. Thus, blacks were understandably apathetic about U.S.A. politics. Because of these factors as well as their high level of general poverty and lack of education, political issues seemed unimportant to the masses of black people (Keesings Research Report, 1970).

It is not surprising, therefore, that blacks were conspicuous by their absence in governmental positions. In 1948, at the state level, blacks constituted 3.8% of the legislators and 4.4% of the senators. In the executive

branch, only one black held a state office, that of state treasurer, and three were appointed to state cabinet positions. No blacks were appointed to state courts. At the national level, blacks constituted 1.3% of the U.S. Congress, 1% of the Senate, and approximately 2% of the judicial appointees. This is not an equitable record for a group who constituted 10.5% of the nation's citizenry (Stone, 1968).

To a large extent, upper- and upper-middle-class blacks functioned in semiautonomous all-black communities and were not economically interdependent on whites (Oates, 1982). However, the masses of lower-class blacks were dependent on the white community for job and salary, and the white community was dependent on the black population for labor, often cheap labor, and sometimes for patronage.

The Political/Economic Influence of blacks in the U.S.A. was almost nonexistent and differed significantly from the influence of Indians in colonial India in one aspect. Although both groups had access to severely limited political and economic resources, blacks in the U.S.A. comprised only 10.5% of the population, 1 in 9, while Indians outnumbered the British by approximately 2,500 to 1. Non-cooperation within the economic and political machinery of the U.S.A. could only be effective in isolated areas where blacks did constitute a significant integral segment of society. United noncooperation in India could bring the entire country to a standstill. This discussion leads

directly into the assessment of the next significant variable which is the Level of Potential Physical Power.

Level of Potential Physical Power

The Level of Potential Physical Power (of movement) is defined as the extent to which the movement can use bodily force to coerce the opposition. This may be determined through comparing the movement with the opposition in terms of military capability, weaponry, and sheer numbers. As mentioned in the previous section, the native Indians in India outnumbered the British there by nearly 250,000 to 1. Additionally, within the British-trained military forces only 60,000 were British compared to 144,000 Indian soldiers (Durant, 1930). However, all the members of the Police Service and all military officers were British. It is true that Indians in the British Army were trained to serve the empire and had more to lose by participating in an unsuccessful revolt than their peasant fellow citizens. Yet, in terms of physical power the British would be the key to unleashing an effective Level of Physical Power that was indeed present but latent, unorganized, unprecipitated in movement followers.

Quite a different situation existed in the U.S.A. Civil Rights Movement. Blacks, although comprising as much as 50% of the population in some areas, comprised a merely 12% of the national census. Blacks were members of the military

but were conspicuous by their absence on local, state, and federal police forces. It can be assumed that in an outbreak of violence blacks had access to stones, rocks, guns, and certainly fists while the government would have access to federal troops and military weaponry such as tear gas. The Level of Physical Power for blacks in the U.S.A., therefore, was limited and was never a real threat except in isolated areas and there for short duration. If a true Civil War had broken out, as some proponents of Black Power threatened, it could never have been a serious campaign.

When one tries to pin down advocates of violence as to what acts would be effective, the answers are blatantly illogical. Sometimes they talk of overthrowing racist state and local governments. They fail to see that no internal revolution has ever succeeded in overthrowing a government by violence unless the government had already lost the allegiance and control of its armed forces. Anyone in his right mind knows that this will not happen in the United States. In a violent racial situation, the power structure has the local police, the state troopers, the national guard, and finally the army to call on, all of which are predominantly white. (King, 1983, p. 73)

On the practical level, considering blacks in terms of numbers alone and then in terms of access to money and power, a Civil War to end discrimination would have been futile, foolish, and a certain disaster. Such a move would not be unlike the boasts of proud Confederate soldiers who believed they could beat the North in a matter of weeks. Blacks simply did not have the adequate Level of Physical Power to wage a successful military campaign.

Degree of Credibility

The final variable contributing to the overall Level of Power of the movement is the Degree of Credibility of the standards, concepts, and authorities which recur in movement rhetoric. The Degree of Credibility as defined by the NVET is the extent to which these subjects of reference are deemed infallible by movement and opposition members. In a contemporary movement an idea of the Degree of Credibility might be ascertained through the utilization of an attitudinal survey such as the one suggested in Chapter Two. In the study of historical movements, this variable may be viewed through an analysis of available sources on the values of the cultures involved.

In India, the division of the population by religion was approximately 68.2% Hindu, 22.16% Moslem, 3.65% Buddhist, 2.36% tribal groups, 1.79% Christians, 1.24% Sikhs, .35% Jains, .03% Parses, .01% Jews, .16% others (Smith, 1938). With the Indian people, therefore, Gandhi's references to many differing religious doctrines, but predominantly Hindu, supported his words through the use of sources deemed credible by his audience. Additionally, the Hindu-Jain-Buddhist and Christian doctrines heavily support nonviolence. This religious heritage provided a background for Gandhi to build his case for nonviolence with an audience who would be impressed by support taken from their familiar religious teachings. The British were almost

totally Christian (World Almanac, 1960) so Gandhi's references to the Bible and to Jesus were probably the bases of strong moral appeals to the British opposition.

In the U.S.A., King was faced with a rather homogeneous audience in terms of religious and political thought (World Almanac, 1960). Argument supported by references to the Bible and to the Constitution were difficult for the audiences to refute.

Gandhi and King also charged their followers to view themselves through the eyes of the opposition. This appeal to cultural values of the opposition, that seemed to be lacking in movement followers, gave great credibility to Gandhi's and King's rhetoric for they used their opposition members themselves as the source of information.

No paper contribution will ever give us self-government. No amount of speeches will ever make us fit for self-government. It is only our conduct that will fit us for it. And how are we trying to govern ourselves? . . . Is it right that the lanes of our sacred temple should be as dirty as they are? The houses round about are built anyhow. The lanes are narrow and tortuous. If even our temples are not models of roominess and cleanliness what can our self-government be: Shall our temples be abodes of holiness, cleanliness, and peace as soon as the British have retired from India? . . . It is not comforting to think that people walk the streets of Indian Bombay under the perpetual fear of dwellers in the storeyed buildings spitting upon them. (Gandhi, 1916, cited in Fischer, 1950, p. 135)

Let's do as Gandhi did in South Africa. Let's consider what the whites say against us and consider whether they have any good arguments. . . . They say that we smell. Well, the fact is some of us do smell. I know most Negroes do not have money to fly to Paris and buy enticing perfumes,

but no one is so poor that he can't buy a five cent bar of soap. . . . And we kill each other and cut each other too much . . . there is no excuse for our schoolteachers to say "you is"--they're supposed to be teaching but they're crippling our children. . . . There are too many Negroes with \$2,000 incomes riding around in \$5,000 cars. . . . The money Negroes spend on liquor in Alabama in one year is enough to endow three or four colleges . . . some things we have it in our power to change. (King, 1958, cited in Oates, 1982, p. 126)

Therefore, one might surmise that the Level of Credibility was relatively high in both movements.

Level of Power (of Movement)

All of the variables mentioned to this point, the Degree of Exposure, Level of Identification, the Level of Unity, the Level of Motivation, the Level of Economic/Political Power, the Level of Potential Physical Power, and the Degree of Credibility, combine to constitute the overall Level of Power of the movement.

To review, the Degree of Exposure to movement rhetoric in the Indian Independence movement was considerable. Even without the advantages of radio and television, Gandhi made sure his messages reached to even the farthest recesses of his audience, travelling to these places himself in order to unite and inspire all of India. The Level of Identification was also high. Gandhi constructed rhetorical visions using well-known and highly respected authorities whom his listeners could easily and wholeheartedly support. He also presented himself as a representative of the people by his

dress and lifestyle. The Level of Unity, though fatally low on the issue of partition, was almost 100% on the issue of independence. In fact, the British were astonished that Muslims and Hindus could be so committed to a mutual cause that they would join hands to attain it (Gopal, 1967).

Through hindsight, it is obvious through the countless sacrifices on the parts of followers that the Level of Motivation necessary for a successful movement did exist. The Level of Political Power of Indians was insignificant, but because of their numbers in the labor force, their buying power, and role as taxpayers, they were potentially economically powerful against British employers, merchants, and tax beneficiaries. "Potentially" is the key word in the assertion above, since Indians could only utilize this power through a united committed effort. Similarly, the Level of Physical Power was potentially great simply because the Indian population outnumbered the British by such a large margin.

If we Indians could only spit in unison, we would form a puddle big enough to drown 300,000 Englishmen. (Gandhi, 1927, cited in Durant, 1930, p. 89)

They only needed unity and leadership to overcome the organized British Rule through military means. Although utilization of military power would be outside the thinking of nonviolence, the potential to do so should add to the movement's overall influence.

The weaknesses in the Indian movement as analyzed through NVET were in terms of political power only. In retrospect, therefore, it can be concluded that lack of political power alone is not enough to render the use of nonviolence ineffective.

In the U.S.A., the Degree of Exposure to movement rhetoric) was also great. The Level of Unity was weakened by the various factions within the movement and their outspoken leaders. Yet, these factions were not enough to prevent King and his constituency from being viewed as comprising the heart of the movement. As in India, the Level of Motivation was obviously great among blacks in the U.S.A. as evidenced by the risks and hardships they willingly took in the name of Civil Rights. The Level of Political Power was insignificant, yet economic power existed primarily in the South in the form of labor and of purchasing power. However, this power only existed in isolated areas and not in the nation as a whole. Also, the Level of Physical Power was insignificant. An uprising effective in an isolated area could be easily squelched by the opposition.

The Degree of Credibility was extremely powerful within the targeted population. Southern blacks placed high value on the Christian religion and all its doctrines, institutions, and representatives (Marx, 1971). King utilized such references heavily in his rhetoric.

Therefore, the Civil Rights Movement in the U.S.A. was strong in the areas of exposure, identification, motivation, and credibility; fair in terms of unity, economic power; and weak in terms of physical and political power. Apparently these weaknesses were either unimportant or adequately compensated for by the movement's strengths or the opposition's weaknesses.

The variables in this section which factor into assessment of the Movement's Power have been evaluated in isolation, yet they interact with another cluster of variables which determines the degree to which the opposition is receptive to the movement's demands. This second cluster of variables is the Level of Persuasibility of the opposition and includes the social, psychological, economic, political, and cultural characteristics of the opposition group. The following section is an analysis of these characteristics in terms of NVET to determine the Level of Persuasibility of the British to the rhetoric of the Indian Independence movement and of the U.S.A. whites to the rhetoric of the Civil Rights movement.

The Level of Persuasibility of the Opposition to Movement Rhetoric

The Level of Socio/Psychological Importance

The Level of Socio/Psychological Importance of the opposition's original social reality is the degree to which

the opposition's status and self-worth depends on the status quo. It can be projected by determining the number of generations down through which the present social reality has been passed and the number of ways in which it has been channeled, such as through folk stories and songs. The belief that the new vision threatens the current one will strengthen a desire to protect the present vision unless the new vision can be perceived as having overwhelmingly more attractive attributes. As discussed in Chapter Two, the pervasive human tendency of intensional thinking is the tendency to trust one's mental, verbal maps of the world rather than to trust the actual experienced encounter with it (Hayakawa, 1963). Intensional thinking causes changes to be slow, even when they are for the better (Johnson, 1972). People will even avoid gathering data or having experiences which contradict already formed or closely-held beliefs (Hayakawa, 1963).

Britain, although spoken of as a democratic monarchy, has a history of feudalism. In fact, at the inception of the Indian Independence Movement, Britain itself was going through a period of governmental reform; the general populace was agitating for equal representation in Parliament to replace the oligarchy functioning at that time. It is quite likely that those of the British oligarchy who resisted such reforms would find similar agitation in India totally

intolerable. Gopal describes the attitude of the British in power by stating

The new variety of activity in India therefore called for the transformation of a traditionally and mentally subject society into one receptive to democratic ideas . . . in India the feudal system that had existed for ages received very powerful support from British rulers who tried to use that system as a bulwark against the spread of democratic ideas (in Britain). (Gopal, 1967, p. 13)

He goes on to describe those Britons exercising ruling power in India as belonging by temperament and training to the feudal order and not tolerant of "such popular manifestations that would encourage the growth of a democratic society."

It would seem that British rulers had been raised in a tradition of superiority within a class-divided society of a nation recognized as a world power. The idea that India could rule herself as well as they was a difficult idea to credit. "The sun never sets on Britannia" was a fond saying. Though rule over its colonies was an economic boon for Britain, British popular thought held that in bringing civilized and orderly British rule and Christian doctrine to those "semibarbarous" colonies was more an act of parental kindness than of economic acumen. They believed Britain would relinquish control if the indigenous peoples could produce persons capable of governing their nation as well as the British. Chirol, a British authority on India wrote that "British officials in India honestly believed in an autocratic form of government though they tried to make it

as paternal as possible" (1926, cited in Fischer, 1950). The idea of democracy or independence being as workable as colonial rule or class rule threatened the positions of Britons in society; it threatened their ideas about who they were and what their role in life should be. Understandably then, complete democratic rule in India (or Britain) and independence was an alarming proposal.

In the U.S.A. as in Britain, the prevailing social reality was one in which the members of the opposition were superior, but benign and generous "rulers." The U.S.A. founders stated that "All men are created equal," yet, in general, most whites believed they were in some way superior to blacks. They believed that in abolishing slavery they had given blacks an equal opportunity, and if blacks had not risen politically, socially, and economically to the average white standard, then it must be because blacks were lazy or less capable. Whites believed themselves to be fairminded Americans and good Christians. They were "fond of coloreds" and were fair and even generous with them. By some twist in logic most even believed that in enslaving black ancestors whites had done a great favor for U.S.A. blacks since it removed them from Africa and made them American citizens.

Therefore, the idea that blacks were equal but had been suppressed threatened whites in several ways. First of all, those whites of low socioeconomic status were threatened by the further loss of status. No matter how "low" their

current status, there was always a whole race of persons below them. In support of this, a study of racial attitudes conducted in 1967 and reported by Dye (1971) revealed significant differences in the attitudes of whites of high and low incomes toward social interaction with blacks. Whites of low income were 10-20% more likely than whites of middle-to-high incomes to object to living next door to blacks, going to school with blacks, or even sitting next to blacks on buses or in theaters.

The new social reality would upset the thinking of whites about themselves, blacks, and the entire social order as they knew it. To that extent it was very threatening indeed. For instance, in 1954, the United States Supreme Court outlawed segregated public schools; the response of many southerners was that of righteous indignation. United States Senator James Eastland of Mississippi spoke for many southerners when he declared, "The South will not abide by nor obey this legislative decision by a political court" (cited in Lord, 1965). Often, major opposition spokespersons attempted to align all those involved in the movement for integration with communism in order to discredit them in the eyes of fellow Americans. Mississippi Circuit Judge Tom Brady stated in a public speech on segregation, "It is a fact that communist sympathizers and left-wing organizers founded the NAACP and largely control it" (cited

in Lord, 1965, p. 62). In his book Black Monday (1959)

Brady had written

the negroid man, like the modern lizard, evolved not . . . the loveliest and the purest of God's creatures, the nearest thing to an angelic being that treads this terrestrial ball is a well-bred, cultured Southern white woman or her blue-eyed, golden-haired little girl. (Brady, cited in Lord, 1965, p. 62)

Hugh V. Wall, spokesman for white supremacy, warned the Mississippi State Bar Association

If the blood of our white race should become corrupted and mingled with the blood of the African then the present greatness of the United States of America would be destroyed and all hope for the future world gone forever. (Wall, cited in Lord, 1965, p. 62)

The Jackson Daily News of Mississippi wrote in an editorial, "we are up against enemies who would destroy our way of life and put an end to the traditions so precious to our people" (cited in Lord, 1965, p. 63). It should be noted that the social reality of the movement was more of a threat in the South and in other areas with a high percentage of blacks within the population. Obviously, whites who had no interaction with blacks because of lack of proximity could accept the new vision by blaming other whites. Northerners, for instance, could blame southerners for suppressing blacks and still maintain their self-concept of just and moral people by believing that they would not similarly behave in a similar situation.

In both movements, then, the Level of Socio/Psychological Importance of the prevailing vision was high. This

should have had a negative effect on the opposition's willingness to be persuaded that their vision was incorrect.

Level of Economic/Political Importance

The Level of Economic/Political Importance of the status quo to the opposition is the extent to which the proposed new social reality will threaten the opposition economically and in terms of political power. This may be assessed by looking at the projected average increase of salaries for movement followers paid by opposition members, the projected number of jobs filled by followers normally filled by majority members, the increase in percentage of followers' voting power, and the increase in percentage of followers in governmental positions to be provided by legislated change in response to the movement demands.

In India, the new society espoused in movement rhetoric was directly threatening to British economic and political authority. Indian self-rule or even increased Indian representation in government would obviously decrease political power of the British as well as alleviating British officials of their jobs. British officers, governmental officials, industrialists, and entrepreneurs stood to lose positions, market monopolies, and pools of cheap labor. The British nation stood to lose tax dollars, military manpower, natural resources, and authority to restrict the industry and trade of a marketing competitor. There was

nothing for the British to gain either economically or politically through agreement with followers.

Noteworthy is the fact that many Britons spoke out against British rule in India stating that Britain was not helping India but rather serving her own interests at India's expense. One example of British sympathy is found in the testimony of F. J. Shore, British Administrator to Bengal, to the House of Commons as early as 1857.

The fundamental principle of the English has been to make the whole Indian nation subservient, in every possible way, to the interests and benefits of themselves. They have been taxed to utmost limit; every successive province, as it has fallen into our possession, has been made a field for higher exaction; and it has always been our boast how greatly we have raised the revenue above that which the native rulers were able to extort. The Indians have been excluded from every honor, dignity or office which the lowest Englishman could be prevailed upon to accept. (cited in Durant, 1930, p. 101)

Fischer (1950) theorizes how the British dealt with conflicts between their maps of themselves as good people and good rulers and territory of the actual results of their rule in India. Torn between their political sagacity and their power lust, "the British yielded as much of the appearance of power as circumstances required and as little of its substance as conditions permitted" (Fischer, 1950, p. 169). The political and especially the economic importance of the status quo was quite high for the British, causing them to resist being persuaded even in the face of

ruinous mismanagement of a country that they claimed to be "parenting."

In the U.S.A., movement rhetoric could only be politically threatening to those isolated southern counties in which blacks were a majority. Obviously, employers paying wages to large numbers of blacks did not wish to have to increase salaries of those who were traditionally counted as "cheap labor." Although meeting the movement's demands would mean the opposition would become a smaller percentage of the voting block and that they would have to compete with a larger number of potential candidates for jobs, this threat was not nationwide, considering the small number of blacks and their concentration in one national region.

The Level of Persuasibility

In this section, the Level of Persuasibility of the opposition to movement rhetoric has been broken down into two major variables dealing with the social, psychological, economic, and political factors that would influence the opposition's willingness to be persuaded. Two other factors analyzed earlier in determining the Level of Power of the movement also affect the opposition in terms of persuasibility. These are the Degree of Exposure to movement rhetoric and the Degree of Credibility.

To review, the Degree of Exposure in both movements was extensive. Although members of the opposition might,

through selective exposure and retention, consciously or unconsciously avoid movement rhetoric, it is doubtful that many were completely successful in so doing. Gandhi and King sent letters to editors in papers of the opposition and met or attempted to meet with opposition leaders. Most notable, though, was their utilization of direct action. It was in these instances that they confronted the representatives of the opposition in such a dramatic and newsworthy manner that the event often made inherently interesting copy for newspapers, magazines, and television coverage. In this way, both movements received wide exposure among the opposition as well as among followers.

In Gandhi's rhetoric, references to Islamic, Hindu, and Jain disciples and scriptures probably carried little weight in England. Yet, Gandhi's rhetoric also included numerous references to an "unspecific" God and to Jesus specifically as well as numerous biblical references. Probably the references that spoke of the ideals of justice and fair play, as well as references to the ideal of the British gentleman, best caught the imagination and sympathy of the opposition. The British prided themselves on fairness; rhetoric which spoke of injustices and unfair labor practices probably struck a responsive chord in Gandhi's British listeners. An example of such rhetoric can be found in this excerpt from a speech Gandhi gave in Madras.

I discovered that the British Empire had certain ideals with which I had fallen in love, and one of

those ideals is that every subject of the British Empire has the freest scope of freedom possible for his energy and honor and whatever he thinks is due his conscience. I think that is true of the British government as it is true of no other government . . . I have more than once said that government is best which governs least. I have found that it is possible for me to be governed least under the British Empire. Thus my loyalty to the British empire. (Gandhi, 1915, cited in Fischer, 1950, p. 27)

Five years later he wrote a letter to the British Viceroy saying, "I can retain neither respect nor affection for a government which has been moving from wrong to wrong in order to defend its immorality" (Gandhi, 1920, cited in Fischer, 1950, p. 72).

In the U.S.A. King's rhetoric, featuring references to the Bible and the Constitution, went straight to the heart of the central values of the society in which he spoke. The distinction between how the society should function according to biblical and Constitutional mandates and the manner in which society functioned in reality was so stark in many instances that it caused great discomfort on the part of opposition members (Oates, 1982).

In summation, both movements had adequate exposure to movement rhetoric; the Degree of Credibility was fair for the British and high for the U.S.A.; the Level of Socio/Psychological Importance was high for both groups; the Level of Political/Economic Power was fair in the U.S.A. and significant in India. The composite of these factors, the Level of Persuasibility, was relatively high for each

opposition group although for differing reasons, as indicated by the differences in individual variables.

Variables Influencing the Potential Efficacy
of Nonviolence

Up to this point, discussion has been of those variables influencing the potential power of the movement and the potential for receptiveness of the opposition to movement's demands. In this section, variables occurring within an interaction between the movement and opposition will be observed. These variables are those which more directly influence the efficacy of nonviolence in interactions between the movement and opposition groups and are the Level of Cultural Preference for nonviolence, the Level of Violent Reaction of the opposition in response to movement demands, the Extent of Modification of the perception of violent reactions of the opposition, the Strength of the Rhetorical Vision in capturing the ideals of the movement and opposition groups, and the Degree of Possible Rejection of that vision by the opposition.

Level of Cultural Preference for Nonviolence

The Level of Cultural Preference for Nonviolence is the extent to which a society looks unfavorably upon the use of physical force. It may be determined by the presence or absence of an acceptable norm to bear arms in public in the society, by the laws regulating personal weapons and

assaults, religious mandates regulating violence, and a survey among the population to assess attitudes concerning violence.

In India, legal and societal norms did not allow bearing arms. Many of the religious doctrines emphasize noninvolvement, nonaggression, and nonviolence not only against other humans but against all living things. Many strict Hindus were vegetarians for this reason. Jain monks even wore filtering veils over their mouths and noses to avoid the inadvertent inhalation and execution thereby of insects. However, the Indian philosophy includes the concept of "dharma" as well. In Indian thought, each person has a given role in life, his or her dharma. The correct way to live is not necessarily what westerners would believe to be the most "moral," rather it is the way in which one best fulfills one's role. For instance, if one's dharma is to be a prostitute, then one would fulfill that role as ably as possible. It is better to be the best prostitute one can be, fulfilling one's dharma well, than to be a mediocre sovereign. Therefore, some societal members are supposed to be soldiers and warriors. Their dharmas require violence. Thus, the society allows that for certain persons in certain situations violence is appropriate. Religious wars and soldiers fall into this category (Zimmer, 1951).

The British and the U.S.A. cultures (black and white) maintain a theoretical preference for nonviolence. Only few instances existed in which violence was appropriate. These were mostly when one had reasonable cause to fear danger to self or others. Reactive rather than active violence was acceptable. The Judeo-Christian ethic, strong in all of these cultures, is saturated with doctrinal references to nonviolence such as "Thou shalt not kill," "turn the other cheek," "the meek shall inherit the earth," and "Love thy enemies." It may be concluded that within both opposition groups a decided cultural preference for nonviolence was functioning.

Level of Violent Reaction

The Level of Violent Reaction according to the NVET refers to the degree to which the opposition responds to nonviolent symbolic action in accordance with "devil" terms. This may be reasonably predicted by discovering the number of followers participating in activities compared to the number of opposition members, the number of violent acts by followers compared to that of opposition members, and the comparative injurious results suffered by both sides.

In India, several outbreaks of violence occurred instigated by Indians. Yet, these were controlled by necessary violence on the part of British officials. Gandhi made it clear that to be a follower in his movement one had to be

nonviolent not only in offensive but in defensive measures. Therefore, not only were the movement's campaigns nonviolent initially, they were to remain nonviolent in the face of violent reactions to their campaigns by the opposition. This indeed is what happened in countless incidents. A prime example was the result of a "raid" on the Dharsana Salt Works. The raid was conducted in defiance of the salt law restricting the Indian manufacture of salt. Despite arrests and beatings, the works were raided continuously. On May 20, 1930, volunteers marched in formation toward the Salt Works. Systematically, each row was beaten away by police guards. Two hundred ninety were injured and two died. English journalist Webb Miller of the New Freeman reported

In eighteen years of reporting in twenty-two countries, during which I have witnessed innumerable disturbances, riots, street fights and rebellions, I have never witnessed such harrowing scenes as at Dharsana. Sometimes the scenes were so painful that I had to turn away momentarily. One surprising feature was the discipline of the volunteers. It seemed they were thoroughly imbued with Gandhi's nonviolence. (cited in Durant, 1930, p. 156)

The Working Committee's Resolution reported police action such as

among others, beating of satyagrahis with lathis until they dropped down unconscious and thereafter trampling their bodies by hoofs of horses ridden by European officers, striping (sic) satyagrahis naked and thrusting sticks into their private parts. (cited in Durant, June 4, 1930, p. 156)

Probably the incident which aroused the greatest indignation on the part of all parties was the Jalliaiwala Bagh massacre where 1,516 unarmed Indians were shot cold-bloodedly by British soldiers for unlawful public assembly. Although Dyer was not to receive punishment for his conception of his duty, his actions were investigated. The Hunter Commission's official evaluation of Dyer's action called it at best a "grave error" and at worst the cause of unnecessary death and violence not only at Jallianwalla Bagh but also during an aftermath of retaliatory violence.

In the U.S.A. instances of ruthless exploitations and cruelty evoked reactions similar to those found in India. One of these incidents was the Freedom Ride emphasis of 1961. Two busloads of interracial riders left Washington, D.C., on a trip to end in New Orleans. They planned to stop in the theoretically desegregated terminals throughout the South to "test" them. One bus was bombed in Anniston, Alabama, the passengers narrowly escaping injury. The other busload was met by members of the Ku Klux Klan in Birmingham and were beaten with lead pipes, baseball bats, and bicycle chains. One of these passengers was a federal official sent by Attorney General Robert Kennedy to participate in the rides to "test" the manner in which southern stations had carried out federally ordered desegregation. He, too, was severely beaten. Widespread coverage of these instances of brutality horrified the nation. By September federally

regulated desegregation of interstate bus stations began. King reflected, "Without the presence of the press, there might have been untold massacre in the South. The world seldom believes the horror stories of history until they are documented via mass media" (King, 1961, cited in Oates, 1982, p. 178).

However, the violent reactions that caused the greatest consternation was the police action under Birmingham's Commissioner of Public Safety "Bull" Connor in response to the Children's March in Birmingham in 1963. Unarmed black women and children marching and singing in protest of discriminatory practices in that city were met with an armed and helmeted police force complete with billy clubs, fire hoses, and attack dogs. News coverage showed women and children pressed against buildings by the onslaught of fire hoses blasting water at them. Most disturbing was the picture of a small boy being attacked by a German Shepherd. As in India, movement followers were also the instigators of violence, yet these were acts of individuals or groups with whom King's movement claimed no association. Also, this violence, such as ghetto riots in Chicago and Los Angeles, was met by equal violence on the part of the opposition in an effort to restrain black instigators.

In Birmingham, the situation was different. The action on the part of movement followers was completely nonviolent, yet it was responded to by great violence. And in the face

of this violent response, King's march continued, and continued in nonviolence, ending on the steps of City Hall in prayer for "Bull" Connor and his men.

In both movements the Level of Violent Reaction on the parts of opposition members was high. More significantly, it was high even when it occurred in response to nonviolent acts on the parts of movement followers. It can be projected that such violence would be deemed unnecessary especially in a culture with a preference for nonviolence. The next variable then deals with the opposition's ability to modify their perceptions of their own violent acts in order not to feel guilty or not to feel called to respond to movement demands.

Extent of Modification

The Extent of Modification is the degree to which the opposition can rationalize the violent behavior it has exhibited. Good indicators for this variable are the Level of Violent Reaction, the number of times the opposition responds with violence unnecessarily, and the level of exposure these events receive.

The Extent of Modification was low in Britain and even lower in the U.S.A. The nonviolent campaigns which were responded to with great violence were numerous and were the events which, because of their newsworthiness and sensationalism, received the most exposure through all available

channels. The Extent of Modification was probably low in both opposition groups but was probably not as low in Britain simply because of the physical distance between the movement and the general populace of Britain and because of the absence of television. This does not indicate, however, that modification of the perception of violent reaction did not occur or was not attempted. In India, for example, General Dyer, when questioned by the Hunter Commission about the event of Jalliaiwala Bagh, never apologized or indicated in any way that he had acted wrongly. He perceived and explained his actions as those that were necessary given the circumstances.

I fired and continued to fire until the crowd dispersed, and I consider this the least amount of firing which could produce the necessary effect it was my duty to produce if I was to justify my action. It was no longer a question of merely dispersing the crowd, but one of producing a sufficient moral effect from a military point of view not only on those present, but more especially throughout the Punjab. There could be no question of undue severity. (Dyer, 1920, cited in Fischer, 1950, p. 182)

In Dyer's defense and, obviously, of his same mentality, General Drake-Brockman reported to the commission that "force is the only thing that an Asiatic has any respect for" (cited in Fischer, 1920, p. 183). The commission also noted the opinions of other British officials. "The action taken by General Dyer has also been described by others as having saved the situation in the Punjab and having averted a rebellion on a scale similar to the Mutiny" (O'Dwyer,

1920, cited in Fischer, 1950, p. 183). Yet the commission indicates that after listening to these perceptions of Dyer's actions and the situation surrounding them that the commission members are unable to view the events in the same manner.

It does not, however, appear to us possible to draw this conclusion, particularly in view of the fact that a conspiracy to overthrow British power had not been formed prior to the outbreaks. . . .

It appears that the outburst on the 10th April subsided in a few hours, there was no repetition of any serious incident afterwards either on that date or on subsequent dates. And even with regard to the events on the 10th . . . if the officer in charge . . . had done his duty, the worst crimes, viz., the murders of the bank officers . . . would in all probability have been prevented. (Dyer, 1920, cited in Fischer, 1950, p. 183)

In the U.S.A., the rhetoric of Alabama Governor John Patterson expresses the right to be violent against the Freedom Riders by referring to them as troublemakers, the federal government as overstepping its bounds, and white resisters as brave people standing up for their rights.

There's nobody in the whole country that's got the spine to stand up to the Goddamned nigger except me. And I'll tell you I've got more mail in the drawers of that desk over there congratulating me on the stand that I've taken against Martin Luther King and those rabble-rousers. Blood's going to flow in the streets. (Patterson, cited in Oates, 1982, p. 174)

Yet, though many must have agreed with Patterson's view of the situation, many others did not. Instead of helping his cause, Patterson's vulgar call to resist integration of the buses ended in systematic regulations which did just that.

Though modification of perceptions of violent acts on the part of the opposition did exist in India and in the U.S.A. to some extent, this Extent of Modification was not effective enough to keep all opposition members from viewing these violent acts as being unjustifiable.

Strength of the Rhetorical Vision

The Rhetorical Vision is defined as an "intersubjective world of common expectations and meaning created in speaker-audience transaction" (Brock & Scott, 1978). The Strength of the Rhetorical Vision is the degree to which verbal rhetoric of the movement contains commonly held ideological myths held by the Indian culture that were probably ineffective in persuading the British. Allusions to Indian philosophical and religious doctrine probably carried little weight with the opposition. Yet, Gandhi also referred to higher authorities greatly respected by the British, such as Christian doctrines and to British cultural ideology. Gandhi appealed to bravery:

Nonviolence and cowardice go ill together. I can imagine a fully armed man to be at heart a coward. Possession of arms implies an element of fear, if not cowardice. But true nonviolence is an impossibility without the possession of unadulterated fearlessness. (Gandhi, 1983, p. 44)

And to morality,

What may be hoped for is that Europe, on account of her fine and scientific intellect, will realize the obvious and retrace her steps; and from this demoralizing industrialism she will find a way out. (Gandhi, 1983, p. 101)

He used his own fine military record to appeal to British patriotism.

It is not without a pang that I return the Kaisar-i-Hind Gold Medal granted to me by your predecessor for my humanitarian work in South Africa; the Zulu War Medal, granted in South Africa for my services as an officer in charge of the Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps in 1906; and the Boer War Medal for my services as assistant superintendent of the Indian Volunteer Stretcher-Bearer corps during the Boer War. (Gandhi, 1920 cited in Durant, 1930, p. 72)

He also made direct appeals to Christian ethics.

The British people seem to be obsessed by the demon of commercial selfishness. The fault is not of men but of the system. . . . India is exploited in the interests of foreign capitalists. The true remedy lies, in my humble opinion, in England discarding modern civilisation . . . which is the negation of the spirit of Christianity. (Gandhi, 1909)

In the U.S.A., King's rhetoric spoke to the heart and values of midland America. Love, brotherhood, fairness, justice, freedom--all of these themes helped to construct an opposing vision that was more in tune with U.S.A. political, cultural, and religious ideals than the opposition's vision. King's vision featured a group of people who simply wanted those rights that were expressed as theirs in the Constitution and who bore no ill will toward the people who had kept these rights from them. Such a group was difficult to cast in the role of villains. The following quotations are representative of the way in which King emphasized both Christian and American ideals in his rhetoric:

It is a pretty difficult thing to like some people. Like is sentimental and it is pretty

difficult to like someone bombing your home; it is pretty difficult to like someone threatening your children; it is difficult to like congressmen who spend all of their time trying to defeat your civil rights. But Jesus says love them, and love is greater than like. (King, 1958, p. 139)

Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. The yearning for freedom eventually manifests itself, and that is what has happened to the American Negro. Something within has reminded him of his birthright of freedom, and something without has reminded him that it can be gained. Consciously or unconsciously, he has been caught up by the *Zeitgeist*, and with his black brothers of Africa and his brown and yellow brothers of Asia, South America, and the Caribbean, the United States Negro is moving with a sense of great urgency toward the promised land of racial justice. (King, 1963, p. 91)

It is time that we stopped blithe lip service to the guarantees of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. These fine sentiments are embodied in the Declaration of Independence, but that document was always a declaration of intent rather than of reality. There were slaves when it was written; there were still slaves when it was adopted; and to this day, black Americans are in economic bondage that is scarcely less oppressive. Americans who genuinely treasure our national ideals, who know they are still elusive dreams for all too many, should welcome the stirring of Negro demands. They are shattering the complacency that allowed a multitude of social evils to accumulate. Negro agitation is requiring America to reexamine its comforting myths and may yet catalyze the drastic reforms that will save us from social catastrophe. (King, 1983, p. 52)

Compassion and nonviolence help us to see the enemy's point of view, to hear his questions, to know his assessment of ourselves. For from his view we may indeed see the basic weaknesses of our own condition, and if we are mature, we may learn and grow and profit from the wisdom of the brothers who are called the opposition. (King, 1983, p. 78)

These excerpts demonstrate some of the ways in which Gandhi and King appealed to the values of the opposition in

portraying themselves as the protagonists in their rhetoric. Throughout the duration of both movements, these major spokespersons continued to construct and maintain this perception of reality.

The strength of the rhetorical vision directly influences the degree to which the opposition is psychologically capable of rejecting it. The valid use of closely-held cultural, religious, and national values in support of their arguments caused Gandhi and King to be difficult communicators to "shut out." This brings the discussion to the following variable, the Degree of Possible Rejection of rhetoric.

Degree of Possible Rejection

The Degree of Possible Rejection of rhetoric is the capability of the audience to discredit verbal rhetoric. This will probably depend greatly on the strength of the rhetorical vision and the Level of Exposure of the opposition to it. In previous discussions both of these variables have been determined to be high for both movements. Although the Degree of Exposure may not have been great initially, more and more members of the opposition became familiar with the movement's rhetoric since the leaders, their rhetoric, and their actions became newsworthy to the mass media. Eventually, in both movements, the

Degree of Possible Rejection of movement rhetoric was low to zero (or impossible).

Degree of Efficacy

All of the variables discussed in this section combined with the variables of the previous two sections interact to determine the Degree of Efficacy for a given movement. The Degree of Efficacy as defined by the NVET is the extent to which these variables interact to cause circumstances under which nonviolent symbolic action will be effective. It may be determined by combining the variables in this section: the Level of Cultural Preference, Level of Violent Reaction, Strength of Rhetorical Vision, Extent of Modification, and Extent of Rejection. The previously assessed clusters of variables which constitute the Level of Power of the movement and the Level of Persuasibility of the opposition are also important factors.

Therefore, to review and combine these variables for the Indian Independence Movement, it has already been demonstrated that the Level of Power was high in the areas of exposure, identification, motivation, physical and economic power, and fairly high in terms of unity. Level of Persuasibility of the British was high since both the socio/psychological importance and the economic/political importance of the status quo was high as was the cultural preference for nonviolence. The Level of Violent Reaction,

Strength of Rhetorical Vision were high; the Extent of Possible Rejection or Modification were low.

For the U.S.A. Civil Rights Movement, the Level of Power was high in the areas of exposure, identification, motivation, and fair in terms of unity and political/economic power. The Level of Persuasibility was low in terms of the political/economic importance of the status quo and high in terms of socio/psychological importance. Cultural preference was very high. The Level of Violent Reaction and Strength of the Rhetorical Vision was high; the Extent of Possible Rejection or Modification were low.

Even though both movements had to overcome low persuasibility on the parts of their opposition, the strength of other variables could have possibly compensated for the weakness of this seemingly important situational variable. Both movements were relatively strong in other areas, and this must have allowed the Degree of Efficacy to be relatively high in both movements.

Variables Affecting the Extent of Change

The variables in this cluster are assessed in the final stages and aftermath of the movement to determine not so much how persuaded the opposition was in terms of beliefs but in terms of behavior modification. Did the movement affect the goal it had intended? However, variables dealing with the psychological changes in audience members are

included. It is not the purpose of this theory to determine whether attitudinal changes affect behavioral changes or that the reverse is true. Perhaps the two co-occur. However, the order in which the variables are assessed does not indicate that this is linked to a perceived cause-effect relationship by the author between changes in attitudes and changes in behavior. The variables to be considered are the Level of Disequilibrium among members of the opposition, the Extent of Change in attitudes and policies, and the Extent of Restoration of Equilibrium among opposition members.

The Level of Disequilibrium

The Level of Disequilibrium among members of the opposition is the degree of discomfort experienced by opposition members caused by the disagreement between the old vision and the new vision which has now gained credence. It is directly correlated with the Level of Efficacy since the purpose of nonviolent direct action is to generate this state of imbalance, thereby persuading the audience. Therefore, since the Level of Efficacy was determined to be high for both movements, the Level of Disequilibrium should be high as well.

The Extent of Change in Attitudes and Policies

The Extent of Change in attitudes and policies is the degree to which the movement's demands are met willingly.

This may be determined through the number of laws changed, the degree to which these laws are taken seriously, and the number of symbolic changes in the society in recognition of these legal changes.

Often laws or policies are changed, repealed, instituted, in theory but not in fact. In India, changes in laws and policies regarding Indian participation in self-rule were made at various intervals from the late 1800s to 1947 (Gopal, 1967). Yet, quite frequently these reforms, such as the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 and the Mongagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, enabled the British to maintain ultimate authority over India's government (Brown, 1972). When India became an independent nation in 1947, however, the extent of change was drastic and almost immediate. No longer were Indians a second-class group but independent citizens of an independent nation. National ceremony, flag, songs, governmental structure--all reflected this drastic change in status.

In the U.S.A., changes in laws were made and not always enforced. Even following the Civil Rights Act in 1964, the Civil Rights Movement had cause for grievance since they still found that blacks were not being integrated into American society as completely as the act guaranteed. In the 1980s, changes and progress toward complete equality are still being made. Blacks have made advances in politics, education, social standing, and employment opportunities. They are most often referred to as "blacks" in public and

legal situations, which is the term favored by group leaders representing the black population. They are also given the same respect in terms of address as their white counterparts, being referred to as Mr., Mrs., Dr., Miss, Ma'am, Sir, as the situation demands.

In the case of each movement then, the Extent of Change in the Indian and U.S.A. societies has been great as a result of the demands of these movements. Such changes can also be seen as the result of the changes in the maps of the opposition and the society-at-large, changes in their visions of social reality, dictating who they are, who the movement followers are, and what their relationships are to one another within the society.

Extent of Restoration of Equilibrium

The Extent of Restoration of Equilibrium is the degree to which the opposition can defend its map in terms of the new social reality. In both cases the Extent of Restoration is relatively high. The British were able to say that they did give India its independence as they had promised to do all along. The U.S.A. could say that it passed the Civil Rights Act. Therefore, each could now believe that they had rectified the situation. Since there is virtually no way truly to "undo" past wrongs, the Extent of Restoration is probably as high in both instances as is possible. It is revealed through opposition rhetoric such as the following:

The story of our clash in the early days of South Africa has been told by Gandhi himself and is well known. It was my fate to be the antagonist of a man for whom even then I had the highest respect. (Jan Christian Smuts, Minister of South Africa, 1940, cited in Fischer, 1983, p. 117)

George Wallace, Governor of Alabama, well known for his strict segregationist policies in the early 60s, explained his change of politics.

The law changed. I didn't change. It was the law in Alabama in 1962 that people of different races be segregated. I became governor and swore to uphold the law. (Wallace, cited in Greenshaw, 1976, p. 176)

In the context of the times, that's what we had in our part of the country, that had been accepted as lawful by the Supreme Court, that was practiced by law, and even practiced by some who claimed otherwise. We Southern people tried not to be hypocritical about it. But you must consider that an overwhelming majority of the people in our part of the country don't consider that as racist. You have to consider what emanates from a man's heart. If it emanates because he thinks it's in the best interest of everybody, even though he's mistaken, then his heart's right. (Wallace, cited in Carlson, 1976, p. 175)

Synthesis

Among the British, the vision of reality at the inception of the Indian Independence Movement, whether a conscious or unconscious one, was that the British were a superior group, more civilized, more enlightened, more moral, more capable, and better equipped to rule a nation than their colonial subjects. In their vision, they were benign parental figures who brought order, Christianity, and modern technology to a semibarbarous people. If their rule in India

was profitable to the British, then it was only through the good business management of India by Britain. However, they believed they would willingly turn over the reins of government to the people of India if they were able to govern themselves as competently as the British. In fact, Indians were not given the political, educational, or economic opportunities to advance to these positions. Until the time, however, that Indians could prove themselves worthy of self-government, the British claimed to be taking care of their "ward" to the best of their ability. If India were indeed poverty-stricken, then conditions could only be worse without British governance.

The vision of the Indian people cast the British in the role not of kind and helpful parents but rather as plunderers who had wounded the nation economically, politically, and spiritually. India had become more modernized and westernized as a result of British influence but had done so at the expense of burdensome taxation and severe trade restriction.

In the U.S.A., whites believed they had set things right when slavery was abolished and had even gone an extra mile with the Plessy v. Ferguson (1896) separate-but-equal decision. Like the British, whether verbalized or not, whites' vision of reality was one in which they were members of a superior group. They held nothing against blacks as long as blacks remained within the "black community" and did

not compete for limited available jobs, wages, and positions of status and power. If blacks were living below the average U.S.A. standard, this condition was due to a lack of initiative or intelligence on their parts rather than barriers within the social system. Whites often felt quite generous when they considered a black maid or worker as "one of the family" without understanding that such condescension placed the black in the role of little higher status than that of a family pet.

Blacks' vision of reality was one of an overwhelming social machine of prejudice and discrimination through which they could never make their way. What was the use in trying when their best, even if they could achieve it, would never be acceptable? It was a hopelessly "white" world.

The visions of Gandhi and King were different from all of these. Their rhetoric enjoined both follower and opposition member, charging each with a new vision in which followers and opposition members could all enjoy roles as "good guys" if changes in the prevailing reality, the currently constituted territory, were made. Gandhi and King attacked the social reality sponsored by the opposition; their rhetoric never contained an ad hominem argument or an attack on the individual opposition member. Each appealed to value systems of the opposition. Through direct action as well as adaptive rhetoric, each forced the opposition to examine the discrepancies between their perpetuated maps of reality and

the territory of reality as it existed in life. The resulting disequilibrium caused changes in actions and attitudes on the parts of the opposition in order to conform to a newly perceived reality and its demands on them.

Therefore, in India, continued reforms that finally led to Indian Independence allowed British officials to see themselves in the right again after continued exposure of Indian grievances had placed them in the wrong. Their maps had to undergo great change; they had to see that it was better for India to rule herself and benefit economically from her own natural resources than to "benefit" from British rule. In the U.S.A., the passage of the Civil Rights Act and continued patrol of its enforcement allowed whites to regain their conscience equilibrium after extensive exposure of inexcusable injustices committed by whites against blacks. Their reality maps also had to undergo drastic change as they began to realize that blacks were not necessarily lazy and ignorant by nature but had been caught for generations in a social cycle of suppression from which whites had benefited. Blacks had not been given ample opportunities nor encouragement to alter their situations.

The role that nonviolent direct action played in these changes was significant for two reasons. First, it created newsworthy events that added great exposure of the movement and at least caught the attention, if not the active interest or agreement, of opposition members. These members

might have filtered out more orthodox rhetorical strategies, had they been relied on, especially since it threatened their vision of reality. Secondly, nonviolent direct action dramatized visually the stark reality of extant intergroup relations. In these confrontations members of the opposition saw themselves or their representatives playing the role of the suppressor in a very physical and not-to-be-denied manner. Such a demonstration was difficult to ignore and more difficult to excuse. For these reasons, nonviolent direct action had a significant impact on the opposition in both movements.

Overall, the effectiveness of nonviolent direct action cannot be attributed to the strength of any of the isolated variables discussed in this analysis. Yet, the weakness of identifiable isolated variables does suggest that these variables, because of their weakness, may not be as important as other variables in determining whether nonviolence will be feasible in a given situation. Two variables were found to be weak: The Level of Physical Power and the Level of Political/Economic Power. One cluster of variables, the Level of Persuasibility (of the opposition) was weak as well. Since each of these variables was determined to be significantly weak in one or both movements and since both movements were successful in the use of nonviolent direct action anyway, it follows that these variables need not be high in order for nonviolent direct action to be a workable

persuasive movement strategy in a given situation. The author projects that the most salient variables are the Level of Cultural Preference for nonviolence and the Degree of Credibility. However, since these factors were high in both movements, this projection was neither proved nor disproved through this analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE RHETORIC OF NONVIOLENT MOVEMENT LEADERS:
SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN COMMUNICATOR STYLE
AND LEADERSHIP TRAITS AS REVEALED THROUGH THE SPEECHES
OF GANDHI AND KING

Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr., were men of education, strong religious and social beliefs, and of charismatic leadership capabilities. Yet, as public speakers, as sources of information, inspiration, and instruction for their nonviolent followers, these two men seem to have been of widely divergent traits in terms of speaker styles and speaker personality.

Gandhi, the public speaker, is written of by Fischer in the following manner:

Gandhi's speeches were delivered in a weak unimpressive, conversational tone. He had been heralded as the hero of Natal and the Transvaal, the person who defeated Smuts. The Indian nationalists had expected a new giant, a lion of a man who might lead them to independence. They were disappointed. Instead of a likely candidate for succession, they saw a thin little figure dressed in a ridiculously large turban and flapping loincloth who could scarcely make himself heard (there were no loudspeakers) and neither thrilled nor stimulated the audience." (1950, p.127)

King, on the other hand, is described as always being immaculately dressed in gray and black suits and white shirts and tie. Oates (1980) states that "the most memorable thing about him [King] was his voice. It had changed

into a rich and resonant baritone that commanded attention when he spoke" (p. 15).

These assessments seem true by each speakers' own admissions. King said that his own "greatest talent, strongest tradition, and most constant interest was the eloquent statement of ideas" (cited in Bennett, 1976, p. 17). Gandhi in his autobiography speaks of his nervousness as a speaker and recounts his first opportunity to speak. Even though he had a written manuscript of his speech in front of him, he was so overwhelmed with nervousness that his vision blurred and he could not read. He asked someone else to read his speech in his stead. He goes on to state

It was only in South Africa that I got over this shyness, though I never completely overcame it. It was impossible for me to speak impromptu. I hesitated whenever I had to face strange audiences and avoided making a speech whenever I could or would even be inclined to keep a meeting of friends engaged in idle talk. (1969, p. 55)

By all accounts it seems evident that King was a much more colorful and powerful speaker in terms of appearance, voice, and manner than was Gandhi. By their own admissions, King enjoyed speaking while Gandhi never became confident or at ease in the public speaking arena. These are subjective evaluations by these leaders and by those who were friends, acquaintances, and audience members. The purpose of this chapter and the measures described and utilized in this part of the analyses of King and Gandhi is to make objective

evaluations about these factors of speaking skill and manner. Such evaluations should support what has already been observed about King and Gandhi but may provide further interesting insights into the ways in which these leaders were alike as well as different.

"Content analysis is a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables" (Kerlinger, 1964, p.544). As part of this study, five of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s speeches and five of Mahatma Gandhi's speeches were chosen for content analysis. The purpose of this analysis in the scope of the entire study is to provide a means by which to compare and contrast the variable of leadership as it existed in the Indian Independence Movement and the U.S.A. Civil Rights Movement. Nine measures were utilized for this analysis. Five are measures of style in speaking, and four are measures of speaker discomfort and social orientation. These latter measures were employed to compare and contrast personality traits of Gandhi and King as revealed through their words. A description of the procedures used and a discussion of the results of each measure follow.

Procedure

Selection of Speeches

The 10 speeches analyzed, 5 per speaker, were chosen through the criteria of availability, date of occurrence, and audience. In order to gain a sense of speaker style and personality across each movement, the author felt it important to select speeches from the earliest and latest days of each movement, as well as from fairly regularly intervening points of time. Also, the speeches were selected to represent presentations to various audiences to gain a sense of speaker style and personality across situations, as the speaker did or did not adapt to differing listeners.

Gandhi's speeches were selected from The Gandhi Reader (Jack, 1956) and the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (1958), a 40-volume series compiled by the Navajivan Trust and containing obtainable letters, speeches, and writings of Gandhi. King's speeches were selected from the collection of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, papers at the Martin Luther King, Jr., Center for Nonviolent Social Change in Atlanta, Georgia. This collection includes articles, interviews, speeches, and personal correspondence of King. Some works are copied, some transcribed, and a few are in his own hand.

The first speech delivered by Gandhi that was selected is from the first volume of his collected works. The earliest of Gandhi's addresses recorded in full in his collected

works was delivered in Bombay on September 26, 1896. In it he spoke of the grievances of South African Indians. The second address chosen was given by Gandhi after he had returned from South Africa. Delivered in Ahmedabad in 1921, it was addressed to an audience of "untouchables" at the Suppressed Class Conference there. His topic was the evils of untouchability. The third and fourth speeches occurred in the same year, 1931, during Gandhi's visit to London for the Round Table Conference. Although these two speeches do occur in the same year, each offers examples of varied audiences which were felt valuable for analysis.

The third speech was Gandhi's Appeal to America delivered over CBS radio and was his first mass mediated address. The fourth was his speech to the Round Table Conference. Both of these speeches dealt with the importance for India to gain self-government. The final speech was selected from the last volume of Gandhi's works. It was delivered in Sevagram, India, on September 3, 1944 to the All India Spinner's Association (A.I.S.A.). In this speech Gandhi tried to persuade the conference that the charkha or spinning wheel should be embraced as the emblem for nonviolence, for the Independence Movement, and for India. It represents one of his last public speeches.

King's first involvement in the U.S.A. Civil Rights Movement in a leadership capacity evolved in events surrounding the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955. He was

selected as chairperson for this event. His speech before the initial mass meeting of boycotters was the first speech chosen for this analysis. Between this first meeting and more publicized events of 1963, few of King's addresses were available in full. The second speech, therefore, was chosen primarily on the grounds of availability and the fact that it was delivered in the intervening period. It is King's statement before a court in 1958 and was a response to false charges of loitering on which he was convicted and sentenced to jail. King took this opportunity to express to a nearly all-white audience the injustices facing the black person who must deal with the white person's judicial system. The third speech is his famous "I Have A Dream" speech delivered from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial to an audience of over 250 thousand. The fourth speech selected was given as King accepted the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize before an audience of international dignitaries at a formal ceremony in Oslo, Norway. The final speech selected was, in fact, King's final address, given at a rally in Memphis, 3 April 1968, the night before he was assassinated. The rally was in conjunction with the Memphis Sanitation Worker's strike for equal pay and privileges.

Description of Content Measures

Word count measures

The measures employed to analyze the speaking styles of King and Gandhi are Sentence and Word counts and lengths (two measures), the Adjective-Verb Ratio (AVQ), the Type-Token Ratio (TTR), and the Flesch Human Interest Score (FHIS). These measures will be described here, and a full transcript of the Coder's Protocol used in this study is included in Appendix A. This Protocol is adapted from Evans' (1974) instructions to coders.

Sentence and word counts/lengths is a tool used to determine the elaborateness of a speaker's vocabulary and the complexity of his or her sentence construction. This is done by counting the number of syllables, words, and sentences per 100-word passage selected from the speaker's discourse. The average number of syllables per words and the average number of words per sentence are calculated to determine if a speaker is prone to use "big" words or use long sentences (Flesch, 1960).

The AVQ is a measure of style which reveals how "active" or "passive" the language of the speaker tends to be by comparing the number of adjectives to the number of verbs in selected 100-word passages from the speaker's discourse (Boder, 1940). The TTR measures the language flexibility of the speaker by comparing the number of

different words used by the speaker to the number or words total.

The FHIS is a measure of "human" interest evoked by the speaker's language. Flesch theorized that certain words add an element of human interest to a passage which makes it an easier message to which to be attentive (1960). To determine the FHIS, one identifies the number of personal words per 100-words and the number of personal sentences divided by the number of sentences in a given 100-word passage and substitutes these percentages into the following formula:

$$FHIS = 3.635(pw) + .314(ps)$$

Content analysis measures

The four measures used in this study which analyze personalized and emotional qualities in the speeches of King and Gandhi are the Discomfort Relief Quotient (DRQ), the Anxiety Scale (AX), and two parts of the Social Orientation Scale, Attitude Toward Others Scale (AO) and the Attitude Toward Self Scale (AS). The DRQ is a method of measuring tension in transcriptions of speech (Mowrer, 1953). It is taken by scoring the number of words indicating discomfort in a given 100-word passage and comparing this to the number of words which indicate comfort in the same passage.

Discomfort
Discomfort + Relief

The AX (Gottschalk & Gleser, 1964) is designed to measure the level of anxiety a speaker experiences at the time of a given communication. Each speech is coded by clauses according to a scale provided by Gottschalk and Gleser (1964) and listed in full in the Coder's Protocol (Appendix A).

The Attitude Toward Others Scale (AO-score) and the Attitude Toward Self Scale (AS-score) (Gottschalk & Gleser, 1964; Markel, 1986) is designed to determine the degree to which a speaker is sensitive to others and the degree to which the speaker is sensitive to self. Similar to the AX, it is taken by coding clauses in 100-word passages according to references to the self and to others. The scale used for coding appears in full in the Coder's Protocol (Appendix A).

For all the measures employed herein, each of the 10 speeches were analyzed through an evaluation of three 100-word segments taken from each. The rationale for analyzing these three excerpts from each speech rather than the speeches in full was to be able to analyze segments of approximately equal length for more reliable comparison. The three segments of a speech were taken from the introduction, the conclusion, and the middle sections in a systematic procedure which is outlined in the Coder's Protocol.

Reliability of Measure

To insure that the measures used were reliable, the author enlisted three cocoders to confirm that similar results from each measure could be obtained no matter who coded the passage. Before these cocoders were given their assignments, the Coder's Protocol was pretested for clarity. A fourth coder was also instructed on how to code one 100-word passage for each measure. This coder was also instructed to ask questions and make notations concerning instructions she found to be difficult to understand or ambiguous. The Coder's Protocol was then revised, and examples were included so that the instructions would be as clear as possible for the three cocoders as well as for anyone wishing to use these measures in the future.

The three cocoders represent a variety of national backgrounds: one from the United States, one from India, and one from Holland. Two considered English a first language; two were fluent in more than one language. Two females and one male comprised the group. This information is important since the speakers and speeches being analyzed are speakers from the U.S.A. and Indian cultures and were speaking cross-culturally in much of their communication. A cultural diversity among coders helps to alleviate reliability of measure brought about by similarities in perceptions on the part of coders.

Reliability for each measure was determined by counting all units coded similarly by the author and each cocoder, comparing that number to all coded units, yielding the percentage of all coded units coded alike. The intercoder reliability for each coder on each measure is recorded in Table 4.1. Coder A is a female native of India who considers herself bilingual. Coder L is a male monolingual English-speaking native of the U.S.A. Coder S is a female exchange student from Holland for whom English is a second language. Because Cocoder L misunderstood instructions for the last three measures, his scores were not reliable and were not used.

Table 4.1

Intercoder Reliability for Each Measure

Measure	Reliability for cocoder		
	A	L	S
Clause per Segment	1.00	.83	.91
Syllable per Word	1.00	.99	1.00
Word per Clause	1.00	1.00	1.00
Type-Token Ratio (TTR)	.83	.81	.89
Adjective Verb Quotient (AVQ)	.89	.84	.68
Flesch Human Interest Score (FHIS)	.85	.62	.85
Discomfort Relief Quotient (DRQ)	.80	.80	.73
Anxiety Score (AX)	1.00	---	.73
Attitude Toward Others (AO)	1.00	---	.73
Attitude Toward Self (AS)	.91	---	.91

Method to Determine Differences Between Speakers

Since three segments from five speeches of each speaker were coded for all measures, the completed codings yielded 15 scores per speaker for each measure. In order to ascertain whether Gandhi's 15 scores on a given measure were significantly higher or lower than King's, the Mann-Whitney U Test was utilized. The purpose of this test is "to test whether two independent groups have been drawn from the same population" (Siegal, 1956; p. 116). In other words, this test is used to tell whether Gandhi's scores and King's scores can be said to be drawn from the same or differing classifications of speaking style and personality. Appendices D and E contain the scores for each speaker on the word count measures and for each speaker on content analysis measures.

To apply the U test, all of the scores for both speakers on a single measure must be combined and rank ordered from the lowest to the highest score. Each score is given a rank number of 1 through 30. In instances where several like scores exist, all are given the mean rank score of the ranks with which they correspond. So, for example, if two scores of the same value would be ranked 4 and 5, each is ranked 4.5. If five scores of the same value would be ranked 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, all five are given the rank of

13. In the U test, the symbol U represents the number of times that a score in the set of speeches given by Gandhi precedes a score in the set of speeches given by King. "U" is found through the following formula:

$$U = \frac{n_1(n_2) + n_1(n_2+1) - R_1}{2},$$

where n_1 is the number of scores in the first group (scores from Gandhi's speeches), n_2 is the number of scores in the second group (King's speeches), and R_1 is the sum of the ranks assigned to the scores in the first group.

For these analyses, the null hypothesis is

H_0 : the score for King is the same as the
score for Gandhi,

and the level of significance is .05.

Results

The results for each measure using the Mann-Whitney U-Test are listed in Table 4.2. For the five measures of speaker style, no significant differences were found to exist between King and Gandhi. However, three of the four content analysis measures (indicated by *) revealed significant differences between the two leaders. Gandhi demonstrated significantly more discomfort while King

Table 4.2

Score for Mann-Whitney U-Test

Measure	U-score	z-score	p value
Word per Clause	98.0	.60	.27
Syllables per Word	104.0	.35	.36
Type-Token Ratio	84.5	1.16	.12
Adjective-Verb Quotient	133.5	.87	.19
Flesch Human Interest Score	144.0	1.31	.10
Discomfort-Relief Quotient	49.0	2.63	.0043*
Anxiety Score	95.0	.72	.24
Attitude Toward Others Score	180.0	2.80	.0027*
Attitude Toward Self Score	202.5	3.73	.0001*

demonstrated a heightened level of positive interpersonal and intrapersonal awareness and concern.

Results of word count measures

Gandhi and King have been described by themselves as well as by others to be of markedly differing oratorical styles, and this seemed to be supported by a simple examination of their scores on each measures (Appendices D and E). Yet, these seemingly obvious differences were not found to be statistically significant. One explanation for this surprising finding is that even though King and Gandhi differed in style, they differed within the limits of similar rhetorical traditions. Although Gandhi was born and raised in Eastern traditions, he was educated in

argumentation in London, and each speech analyzed herein was delivered by Gandhi in English.

Results of content analysis measures

The Gottschalk-Gleser Anxiety Scale is the sole content analysis measure which revealed no significant differences in the two speakers. This measure was originally developed to use in the analysis of psychiatric clients. Therefore, it would make sense that King and Gandhi would not be significantly different in level of abnormal anxiety and that both men would produce scores that fall within the range of normalcy (stated by Gottschalk to be between 2.0 and 3.0).

Results of the remaining three content analysis measures indicate that King and Gandhi did reveal through language significant differences in speaker discomfort and in positive speaker awareness of self and others. The results of the Discomfort-Relief Quotient supplies additional validation to the independent reports by observers and by the speaker's self-report. Gandhi was described as and admitted himself to be an apprehensive speaker, whereas King was comfortable as a speaker and even enjoyed speaking in public.

The results of the Social Orientation scores indicate that King had a significantly more positive sense of and concern for self and for others than did Gandhi. One

interpretation of this finding would be to credit this difference to the cultural and religious backgrounds of the speakers. The Black Southern Baptist philosophy of life places great emphasis on the New Testament directive to "Love one another" and to "love your neighbor as yourself."

The Hindu religion, by contrast, places less emphasis on interpersonal relationships and on persons in general, placing greater importance on all people and all things being one (Zimmer, 1951). For King, the emphasis was on the individual, for Gandhi, the most important idea was the universal whole. Also, King was a gregarious extrovert, while Gandhi was frequently awkward in company.

Method to Determine Differences Among Speeches of One Speaker

Methodology

To determine whether either speaker showed significant differences in style or personality projection from speech to speech and audience to audience, the Friedman Two-way Analysis of Variance by ranks was employed (Siegel, 1956). This analysis allows the researcher to compare and contrast the scores among the five speeches of one speaker on one measure. For example, the scores for segment #1 on each of the speeches for one speaker were given a rank order number of 1 to 5 from lowest to highest score. The same was done for segments 2 and 3 of the five speeches for that speaker.

The rank order numbers for the three segments of each speech were totaled, and these sums were placed into the following formula:

$$Xr^2 = \frac{12}{N(k+1)} [(4_a)^2 + (r_b)^2 + (r_c)^2 + (r_d)^2 + (r_3)^2] - 3N(k+1)$$

where N = the number of segments,

k = number of speeches,

r = sum of the ranks for the three segments,

a-e are speeches 1-5.

It could be hypothesized that one or both speakers might adapt their speaking styles according to the audience to whom they spoke and the situation in which an address was delivered. Judging from the raw scores and from knowledge of King and Gandhi, it would be more likely that King would show greater differences in style between speeches (Appendices D and E). This hypothesis is further supported by the results of the Mann-Whitney U Test which shows King to be more interpersonally aware or positively socially oriented than Gandhi. For the psycholinguistic measures, it could be predicted that significant variances in personality factors might be found in one or both speakers between speeches. This could be accounted for by the passage of time and by experience in speaking and in performing the duties of a popular leader. It is more likely that Gandhi would show

such lessening of anxiety since King had been a public speaker, a minister, as well as a community leader for many years before the Montgomery Bus Boycott thrust him into national prominence.

Results of Friedman two-way analysis

The results of the Friedman Two-way Analysis of Variance are found in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3

Scores for Friedman Analysis

Measures	King		Gandhi	
	score	p-level	score	p-level
Words per Clause	3.85	.342	.12	.910
Syllables per Word	0.95	.910	3.26	.446
TTR	4.76	.207	1.77	.727
AVQ	2.98	.446	6.03	.148
FHIS	12.04	.002*	0.73	.910
DRQ	3.00	.446	5.41	.175
AX	2.03	.608	8.27	.002*
I-score	0.73	.910	2.03	.608
II-score	2.81	.524	9.51	.001*

As expected, King showed significant stylistic variance across speeches although on one word count measure only. King's style varied on the dimension of "human interest" as measured by the Flesch Human Interest Score. King's scores for this measure across the five speeches sampled are listed in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4

King's Scores on the Flesch Human Interest Score

Segment	Speech Numbers				
	1	2	3	4	5
First	64.33	56.72	23.32	16.52	78.24
Second	116.66	47.29	57.81	22.90	58.65
Third	71.20	23.56	53.61	45.23	86.08

King utilized many more elements of human interest in his first and final speeches and significantly fewer in his second and fourth speeches. The first speech was his address at the initial mass meeting of the Montgomery bus boycotters in 1955; his final address was before the Memphis rally of striking sanitation workers in 1968. Both of these speeches are analogous to an athletic "pep talk" designed to inspire a group of movement followers to immediate and specific action, to boycott the busses and to walk off a job. To inspire listeners to very specific, immediate, and risky action, King may have felt a need to establish quite explicitly his understanding of his listener's needs and of the possible sacrifices he was encouraging them to make. He may have also been trying to establish a common ground, a friendly rapport with a group of people who had to be cohesive if they were to be successful and whose cooperation with him and his directives were important to the goals of the movement. Also, these are the only two audiences of the

speeches sampled which were comprised almost exclusively of black members.

King's second speech was his statement before Judge Loe in 1958. The statement was in response to King's conviction and sentencing on charges of loitering. The fourth speech was King's Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech delivered to an audience of international dignitaries at the 1964 ceremonies in Oslo, Norway. Both of these speeches were scored lower in terms of human interest. Each was delivered in a very formal situation, before a predominantly white audience, and in a situation involving a formal evaluation of King as a man. In the second speech, King's guilt or innocence was being determined in a court of law; in the fourth, King's life work was being recognized and rewarded. These factors may explain the significant difference in level of human interest present in his discourse in these instances. Such variances may reflect King's stylistic flexibility along this dimension of human interest as he may have consciously adapted his discourse to the preferences and expectations due to a given audience and situation. Variances may also reflect King's degree of comfort or perceived similarity with a given audience.

The Friedman Analysis revealed significant differences among Gandhi's speeches along two content analysis measures: the Gottschalk-Gleser Anxiety Scale and the Attitudes

Toward Self Scale. The Anxiety Scores for each of Gandhi's speeches are listed in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5

Gandhi's Scores on the Anxiety Scale

Segment	Speech Number				
	1	2	3	4	5
First	3.16	2.55	0.69	3.07	2.30
Second	2.92	4.50	2.78	3.57	2.86
Third	4.37	3.72	1.77	3.18	2.63

The Anxiety Score on the third speech is lower than the scores for the four remaining speeches. This speech was the appeal to America delivered over CBS radio in 1931. It was Gandhi's first experience with radio broadcasting and perhaps the fact that the audience was not visible lessened his anxiety due to speaking in public. Gandhi experienced normal levels of anxiety in his final speech given before the Spinner's Association in 1944. The highest level of anxiety was experienced by Gandhi in his very first speech delivered before a group of fellow Indians in Bombay in 1896. An obvious explanation in the variance of anxiety between Gandhi's first and last speeches would be that of age and experience. In Bombay, in 1896, Gandhi was the novice leader, young and inexperienced, and facing threats

of death and imprisonment for his noncooperation with South African ordinances. In 1944, Gandhi may have benefitted from a confidence born of many years as a prominent speaker and leader. Also, the situation in which he spoke was relatively nonthreatening in physical terms.

The second content analysis measure for which Gandhi's scores showed a significant difference among the five speeches sampled is the Attitude Toward Self Scale. Gandhi's scores on this measure are listed in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6

Gandhi's Scores for the Attitude Toward Self Score

Segment	Speech Number				
	1	2	3	4	5
First	0.67	0.30	0.90	0.30	1.20
Second	0.75	0.09	0.36	0.28	0.62
Third	3.18	0.42	1.40	0.00	1.50

Gandhi demonstrates his highest level of intrapersonal social orientation during his first speech which was delivered in Bombay in 1896 before a group of Indians to discuss their mutual grievances against the South African government. The lowest score on this measure was recorded for his fourth speech which was delivered before the Plenary Session during the Round Table Conference in London in 1931.

Gandhi represented India to present an argument for and to negotiate the terms for granting India self-government. Perhaps, in Bombay, a very young Gandhi, fresh from London, felt the need to analyze and express most carefully his motives, his intentions, and personal commitment to the movement and his willingness to accept unpleasant consequences. Perhaps, as a novice in his cause, he felt a need to defend himself. He may have been extremely self-conscious due to sheer nervousness in a public communication situation. As he became more secure in his own beliefs and actions and more mature in his Hindu religious development, the concern with self may have lessened, and, if so, the need to explain or defend the self lessened as well. A second explanation for this variance in intrapersonal social orientation could be that Gandhi felt more comfortable with self-revealing messages delivered to a group of fellow Indians bound together by shared grievances and a shared commitment to a common cause. He might have felt stifled or uncomfortable in talking about himself in front of a group of British officials in a foreign and formal environment. Finally, in the first speech Gandhi was speaking for himself; before the Plenary Session he spoke as a representative of the Indian Nation.

Although the Friedman Analysis did reveal significant differences in style and personality among the speeches for each speaker, it was surprising to find that greater

variance was not found, specifically since King's raw scores seemed to indicate more flexibility along stylistic dimensions.

Referring to Appendix E, the most notable deviations from the means are the numbers denoting the length of sentences used by King in his speech to accept the Nobel Prize and in his speech at the Memphis Rally. The average sentence in King's acceptance speech was nearly 34 words in length; the average length of the sentences in his Memphis speech was under 10 words. Gandhi does not show this flexibility judging the raw measures for his speeches (Appendix D).

To test these observations further, the Mann-Whitney U-Test was applied once more to see if any significant differences in style would be found between speeches King delivered to audiences who were predominantly black (speeches 1 and 5) and audiences who were predominantly white (speeches 2 and 4). Speech number 3, the "I Have a Dream" speech, was excluded since it is difficult to determine the exact racial composition of the audience. Those of Gandhi's speeches delivered to Indian audiences (speeches 1, 2, and 5) were compared to his speeches delivered to Anglo audiences (speeches 3 and 4). Results ((Tables 4.7 and 4.8) revealed that Gandhi's style did not differ significantly between Indian and English audiences. Yet King's style, according to audience, did differ significantly on all word count

Table 4.7

Results of Mann-Whitney U-test Applied to Find Differences in Gandhi's Speaking Style According to Audience's Racial Composition

Measure	U-score
Words per Clause	28.5
Syllables per Word	15.0
Type-Token Ratio	20.5
Adjective-Verb Quotient	28.0
Flesch Human Interest Score	39.0
Discomfort Relief Quotient	36.5
Anxiety Score	34.0
Attitude Toward Others	24.5
Attitude Toward Self	36.5

U-scores < 7 are significant at .02 level.

Table 4.8

Results of Mann-Whitney U-test Applied to Find Differences in King's Speaking Style According to Audience's Racial Composition

Measure	U-score	P-value
Words per Clause	6.0	.032*
Syllables per Word	7.0	.047*
Type-Token Ratio	5.0	.021*
Adjective-Verb Quotient	13.5	.242
Flesch Human Interest Score	0.0	.001*
Discomfort Relief Quotient	9.5	.090
Anxiety Score	14.0	.294
Attitude Toward Others Score	13.0	.242
Attitude Toward Self Score	19.0	.469

measures with the exception of the Adjective-Verb Quotient. Figures indicate that before black audiences King used shorter words and shorter clauses. He used more repetitions of words and more elements of Human Interest. No differences in content analyses measures according to audience were found for either speaker.

One explanation for these findings is that King adapted his speaking style to the audience to whom he spoke and the formality of the situation. The ceremony at which King accepted the Nobel Prize was an extremely formal affair. His immediate audience was composed of dignitaries from all over the world. His mediated audience was, in fact, the world at large since the annual awarding of Nobel Prizes is a news event demanding international attention. The speech delivered in Memphis was addressed to a group of black sanitation workers who were on strike to protest discriminatory practices against blacks in their job force in terms of salary and working conditions. Although this was a "formal" speaking engagement in the sense that King was asked to prepare and present an address, the very term "rally" with which it is referred indicates a sense of informality. Another situational variable is the presumed socioeconomic status and educational level of this audience as compared to the audience in Oslo. The shortened sentences indicate a simplified form of communication for a less sophisticated or educated listener. Finally, a cultural variable or

expectation may have also influenced King's differing speaking styles in these two situations. One obvious difference between U.S.A. black and white speaker-audience interaction, particularly in the delivery of sermons, is found in the level of verbal feedback (Smitherman, 1974). In the two speeches with the shortest sentences and words, King was speaking to predominantly black audiences. Shortened sentences with rhythmic cadences almost invite audience responses. In the transcription of the tape of the speech delivered at the mass meeting to begin the Montgomery bus boycott, the audience's responses are included.

Now let us say that we are not advocating violence. (No!) We have overcome that. (Repeat that! Repeat that!) I want it to be known throughout Montgomery and throughout this nation that we are Christian people. (Applause) We believe in the Christian religion. (Yeah) (King, 1955)

Gandhi's lack of audience adaptation may be attributed to one or a combination of many possible factors. Gandhi perhaps lacked the insight or skills of audience analysis to see a need to adapt his style of speaking to a given audience. Speaker anxiety may have lessened his interaction with an audience. Perhaps Gandhi's personal philosophy required a consistency of manner in order to be true to oneself. On the other hand, the answer may be that Gandhi did analyze his audiences correctly. Significant difference may not exist between Indians and Anglos in terms of the speaking style which is expected and deemed appropriate in a

public leader. In this case, the flexibility of King's style may reveal differences between black and white audience members, and the consistency of Gandhi's style may reveal similarities between Indian and British audience members rather than either revealing differences between King and Gandhi in terms of audience adaptation skills.

Discussion

The fact that King and Gandhi did not differ significantly in terms of speaking styles suggests that their rhetorical styles may have been a vital factor in the overall persuasive effectiveness of the movements which they led. To provide more support for this idea, failing movements of which the leader demonstrated a speaking style differing significantly from King's and Gandhi's as well as failing movements of which the leader demonstrated a similar style would need to be analyzed. That King and Gandhi differed significantly in terms of speaker discomfort and social orientation seems to indicate that the level of confidence or the interpersonal and intrapersonal relational skills of a movement leader does not significantly influence the success or failure of a nonviolent movement. Further study of speaker personality traits relating to movement success or failure are needed to more firmly validate this conclusion.

CHAPTER FIVE
A REVIEW OF THE NONVIOLENT EFFICACY THEORY: RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR FUTURE RESEARCH IN THE STUDY OF NONVIOLENT SYMBOLIC
ACTION AND RHETORIC AS A RHETORICAL STRATEGY

The major questions addressed by this study concerned the effectiveness of nonviolence as a persuasive strategy. The Nonviolent Efficacy Theory was developed as a means of explaining why or why not nonviolence was effective in historical movements. More importantly, NVET offers a means of predicting the efficacy of nonviolence in specific contemporary or future social movements.

Nonviolent Efficacy Theory Analysis

Through comparing and contrasting 16 significant variables in two successful nonviolent movements, NVET suggests which of these variables or which combinations of variables are not essential for the movement's success. In the Indian Independence Movement weaknesses were found in the organization's economic power. In the U.S.A. Civil Rights Movement, weaknesses were described in the movement's economic, political, and physical power. This suggests that a group should not rule out the use of nonviolence by reason of low economic, physical, or political power. Application of NVET to other successful movements should enable

researchers to determine what level of weakness in these three areas is tolerable in a successful movement. Further, such applications of the NVET may also yield information about the relative importance of other variables and combinations of variables to the efficacy of nonviolence.

Psycholinguistic Analysis

Comparisons of the two movements in terms of the salient variables of leadership style and personality were made possible through the use of nine psycholinguistic measures applied to the discourse of King and Gandhi. Word count measures revealed that both men's rhetorical styles are within normal western rhetorical traditional expectations and do not differ significantly from one another. Content analysis measures, however, did reveal significant differences in speaker personality traits.

The Discomfort-Relief Quotient yielded scores which suggest that Gandhi was much more uncomfortable during the delivery of his five sampled speeches than was King during the delivery of his five sampled speeches. King scored a much higher score on both Social Orientation Scales revealing a more positive attitude toward others and toward self than Gandhi possessed. This suggests that King was more "people oriented" than Gandhi as revealed in positive, negative, or lack of references to others and self in their respective speeches.

Comparing the scores on one measure across the five speeches of one speaker revealed that King's Human Interest Score varied significantly from speech to speech and audience to audience. Gandhi's scores varied according to level of anxiety and positive feelings toward self depending on the speech, situation, audience, and time of a speech.

These findings suggest that, taken by themselves, the movement leader's level of discomfort or confidence as a speaker and leader and the level of a leader's positive feelings toward others and toward self have no decisive impact on the success or failure of a nonviolent movement. The similarity in speaking styles leaves unanswered any questions concerning the impact of speaker style on the success of a nonviolent movement.

Research Limitations

The single major problem in this study was the fact that NVET was applied to historical rather than contemporary movements. Particularly in terms of the Indian Independence Movement, uncovering information on many of the indices by which each variable was measured was difficult and sometimes impossible. Therefore, many indicators were estimated and a few omitted because the information was unavailable. With contemporary information gathering, storing, and retrieving technology, the NVET is more easily applicable to present day movements.

Another similar difficulty was presented by the fact that both leaders are deceased. Videotapes, of Gandhi's speeches, at least, are not easily available. This made quantitative analyses of paralinguistic communication impossible. Measures of speaker rate and volume, vocal pitch and quality, as well as analyses of hand gestures, movement, posture, eye contact, and facial expression could have yielded a more complete description of Gandhi's and King's speaking styles. Perhaps it is in these areas of presentation manner instead of verbal content that the speakers did differ significantly.

Suggestions for Further Research

This study is presented as a beginning in gaining a sense of how the important variables in a movement work together to constitute a situation in which nonviolent direct action becomes a viable means of persuasion. To have a truly clear picture, many movements must be analyzed with this purpose in mind. In this study, two movements containing many similar variables were analyzed. The Indian Independence Movement and the U.S.A. Civil Rights Movement were similar in terms of cultural preferences for nonviolence and in terms of the high level of credibility for common higher standards, concepts, and authorities used in persuasive appeals. The author theorizes that these are the two most important variables for determining nonviolent

efficacy. However, the fact that these variables were, in fact, present in two successful nonviolent campaigns does not prove this theory. Further analyses of movements weak in terms of these two variables are needed in order to provide support for these projections.

The two movements were also similar in terms of speaker style. Again analyses of successful movements with significantly differing speaker style as well as analyses of unsuccessful movements with similar speaker style should be conducted. Such studies would provide information about the relative importance of a given speaker style to the success of a nonviolent movement. They would also yield further information on the ways in which this variable interacts with other variables in a movement.

Analyses of style and personality of leaders of violent movements should be conducted for the purpose of discovering similarities and differences between the proponents of violence and the proponents of nonviolence. Finally, continued analyses of Gandhi and King will more fully inform the researcher about these two proponents of nonviolence.

Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr., had an abiding faith in the basic goodness of humanity. Each believed that nonviolence was a means of persuasion that not only did not fail but could not fail because it appeals so strongly to this inherent goodness they believed all of humankind to possess. This study does not prove nor

disprove their philosophy to be true. It is hoped that the study of the use of violence versus nonviolence as effective means of social change will continue. In King's words:

It is no longer merely the idealist or the doom-ridden who seeks for some controlling force capable of challenging the instrumentalities of destruction. Many are searching. Sooner or later all the peoples of the world without regard to the political systems under which they live, will have to discover a way to live together in peace. Nonviolence, the answer to the Negroes' need, may become the answer to the most desperate need of all humanity. (1963, p. 169)

May this searching and researching continue until the needed answers are found to eliminate violence and war as acceptable problem solving strategies between nations, groups, and individuals.

APPENDIX A
CODER'S PROTOCOL

Word Count Measures

Counting the 100-word Segments

Count all the words in the entire speech. A word is defined as a) any group of sounds or letters having space on each side (Flesch, 1974); b) contractions and hyphenated words are one word; c) numbers or acronyms used as a single unit, e.g., "nineteen-eighty-six," "1986," "ten thousand," "10,000," "U.F.," etc.; d) all names of a person's name as one word, e.g., "Frank Nimocks", "Cordelia Ann Jones", etc., but count titles as separate words, e.g., "Dr. Wallace" (two words), "Dr. Bill Wallace" (two words), "Bill Wallace" (one word); e) names of places, such as "South Africa", "Canary Islands" as one word, but count towns, states, countries as separate words, e.g., "Hattiesburg, Mississippi" (two words), "Paris, France" (two words), "Niagara Falls" (one word), "St. Simon's Island, Georgia" (two words); f) names of businesses, organizations, books, people or objects, which are most often expressed together are considered one word, e.g., "House of Representatives," "J.C. Penney Co.,"

"National Rifle Association," "Nobel Peace Prize," "Encyclopedia Britannica," "Peter the Great," "Lawrence of Arabia," etc.

After counting all the words in a speech, not including transcriber's parenthetical editor's additions, divide the total number of words by two. If the total number is even, then locate the words corresponding to the total divided by two, and the word following it. Enter the total number of words, the number of words divided by two and the two words with which it corresponds on the worksheet. If the total number is odd, the total divided by two will be a fraction. Round the fraction to the nearest even number and enter on the worksheet this number, this number plus one, and the two words with which these numbers correspond.

To count the first segment, begin with the first word of the speech and count the first 100 words. End the first segment at the beginning or end of the sentence in which the 100th word is found depending on which end is closest to that word. Obviously, segments will vary in size according to where the sentence nearest the 100th word ends.

To count the second segment, start with the first word corresponding to the midpoint and count 50 words backwards. The segment will start with the first sentence beginning or ending nearest the 50th word. Then, beginning with the second word corresponding with the midpoint, count 50 words

down. The second segment will end at the sentence ending nearest the 50th word.

The third segment is counted by starting with the last word in the speech and counting back 100 words. Again, the sentence beginning nearest the 100th word begins the third segment.

Enter the number of words for each segment on the worksheet, the total for all three segments, and the total divided by three in the spaces provided. Finally, separate the words in each segment by placing single vertical lines between them.

Counting Syllables

Count all syllables according to standard word division. When in doubt, use Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, 1980, first entry. Place the number of syllables of each word under that word. Enter the number of syllables for each segment, the total number of the three segments combined, and the total divided by three on the worksheet.

Counting Sentences

Sentences are actually clauses, either independent or dependent, in which a simple subject/predicate sentence root is found.

"The car we were riding in broke down," would be counted as two sentences: 1) The car broke down; and 2) We were riding.

"The two of you may quit your work, go home, and sleep all day", would be one sentence. "Go home", and "sleep all day", are parts of a compound predicate. Neither contains a subject.

"Steve, and all the rest of the people in Tokyo, have decided not to go", would be one sentence. "All the rest of the people in Tokyo", has no predicate but is part of a compound subject.

Sentences which are fragments are also considered sentences even though they do not contain a subject and verb.

"No!" "Free at last." "An amazing man." Fragments such as these, punctuated as sentences, are counted as such.

To mark sentences, place heavy vertical slashes between them. To mark sentences which appear in the middle of another sentence, set them apart with heavy double brackets.

Enter the number of sentences in each segment, the total number of sentences for all three segments, and the total number divided by three on the worksheet.

Example:

It surprised me||that Aunt Frances went.|| Really.||

The day [she left] was just like any other.|| She,

Aunt Gale, and another woman [they knew,] just decided on the spur of the moment and left. ||

Sentence and Word Counts/Lengths

To determine the average length of the words for each segment, divide the number of syllables in the segment by the number of words in the segment. The average length of the sentences in a segment is determined by dividing the number of words by the number of sentences. The mean lengths of words and sentences in each speech may be determined by totaling the average words per sentence, and the average number of syllables per words, and dividing each of these numbers by three. Enter these numbers on the worksheet.

Type-Token Ratio

The purpose of the Type-Token Ratio (TTR) is to determine the flexibility of the speaker's vocabulary by comparing the total number of words a speaker uses to the number of different words. First, count all the words in a 100-word segment and enter that number on the worksheet. Next, cross out all the words that have already been used once in the segment. So, for example, in the following sentence,

I don't think that anything ~~that~~ I ~~say~~ about the topic will change ~~the~~ way that you ~~think about~~ it.

there are 20 words (tokens) but only 14 different words (types). The six words that had been already used are crossed out. After crossing through all repeated words in a segment, count the number of types (those words not crossed out) and enter this number on the worksheet. The TTR is the number of different words in a segment (types) divided by the total number of words (tokens). Therefore, in the sample sentence above the TTR would be $14/20$ or .7. Words are counted as different even if there is only one letter which is changed, omitted, or added. "Jim" and "Jim's" are two different words as are "a" and "an," "car" and "cars," and "sing" and "sang".

An average number of types and tokens for a single speech can be obtained by totaling the number of types and tokens for the three segments and dividing these numbers by three to obtain the mean number of types and tokens. Dividing the mean number of types by the mean number of tokens will yield the mean TTR for the speech.

Adjective-Verb Quotient

The Adjective-Verb Quotient (AVQ) is a measure of style which reveals how "active" or "passive" the language of the speaker tends to be. The only words counted as adjectives in each segment are attributive adjectives, those adjectives placed before the nouns that they modify. You should only count those adjectives that are in "adjective form." In

other words, do not count nouns used as adjectives when an "adjective form" of the noun exists. So, in the sentence, "The river looked like some sort of mystical fire water," "mystical" would be counted as an adjective but "fire" would not be counted. If the sentence had read, "The river looked like some mystical, fiery water," "mystical" and "fiery" would be counted as adjectives. If an adjective form that differs from the noun form of a word does not exist, the word is counted as an adjective if used as such but not counted if used as a noun. So, in the sentence, "The British prefer British food," the first "British" would not be counted but the second "British" would be. Examples of other adjectives used as nouns (not to be counted) include "the rich," "the elderly," "the moving," etc.

Quantitative, ordinal, and numeral pronouns are not to be counted, nor should the adjective "certain" because of its indefiniteness. For example, in the sentence "Many people followed not only this format but the next as well," neither "many" nor "next" should be counted. However, the quantitative words indicating a complete group or unit should be counted when not used as nouns. "All doctors wear white for a whole year even though all do not prefer to." In the preceding sentence the words "whole" and the first "all" would be counted as adjectives; the second "all" is a noun.

Possessive pronouns, "its," "my," "Lynn's," etc. are counted. The adjectives, "this," "that," "these," and "those," and "the" are NOT counted. Also, if an adjective is repeated in succession, it is only counted once (e.g., "the red, red rose").

Verbs in all forms should be counted. Infinitives and participles should be counted except when used without nouns and preceded by an article or possessive pronoun ("the," "a," "my," etc.) or by the preposition "of." No forms of "have" ("has," "had," "having") or "be" ("am," "is," "are," "was," "were," "being") are counted. "Could," "should," "would" are not counted.

In coding each segment for adjectives and verbs, underline each verb and place brackets around the adjectives. Count the number of verbs and the number of adjectives for each individual segment and for the total three segments. Enter these numbers on the worksheet. The AVQ for each segment is obtained by dividing the number of adjectives for each segment by the number of verbs in each. The AVQ for a speech is determined by dividing the total adjectives and the total verbs by three. The mean number of adjectives divided by the mean number of verbs yields the AVQ for the speech. These figures should also be entered on the worksheet.

Flesch Human Interest Score

The Flesch Human Interest Score (FHIS) is used as a measure of "human" or "person" interest or referencing in the speeches. First, code the personal words and the personal sentences in each segment. Personal words are as follows:

1. All first-, second-, and third-person pronouns except the neuter pronouns, "it," "its," "itself," and the pronouns "they," "them," "their," "theirs," and "themselves" if referring to things rather than people. Be sure to count "he," "him," "his," "she," "her," and "themselves" even where these words refer to animals or inanimate objects. Words beginning with the hyphenated prefix "self" are not counted (e.g., "self-help").
2. All words that have masculine or feminine natural gender, such as "Donna Howell," "Mary," "father," "sister," "son." Do not count common gender words such as "scientist," "doctor," "nurse," "spouse," etc., even though the gender may be clear from the context. Count a phrase such as "Senator James Flynn" as two personal words (using the same rules for counting words measure). Dieties and fictional characters are counted.

3. The group words "people", "folks", "humanity", "children", etc. are counted. Names of countries, races, religions, etc. are not counted.

Personal sentences are as follows:

1. Spoken sentences, marked by quotation marks or otherwise, often including speech tags such as "he said," and "they told you," set off by colons or commas. Do not count as "personal sentences" those that include quoted phrases or indirect quotations--"The boy accused his father of 'reneging' on his duties as a father." Count all sentences in a long quotation.
2. Questions, commands, requests, and other sentences directly addressed to the reader/listener. For example, "Does this sound impossible?" "Remember to complete all steps."
3. Sentences including the word "we" when the speaker refers to self and audience. Do not count sentences in which "we" refers to speaker and others not including the audience.
4. Exclamations, for example, "It's fantastic!"
5. Grammatically incomplete sentences, or sentence fragments whose full meaning has to be inferred from the text. "Couldn't type a word." "Pretty, though." "No doubt she would make a better wife than secretary." (Flesch, 1960; Evans, 1974).

Before calculating the FHIS you must first ascertain the percent of personal words and the percent of personal sentences. Read each segment of a speech placing "p.w." above each personal word. Indicate personal sentences by drawing a horizontal line above each and placing a "P.S." in the center of that line. The percent of personal words is the number of personal sentences divided by the total number of sentences and multiplying this quotient by 100. All these figures should be entered on the worksheet.

The FHIS is reached by substituting the percent of personal words and percent of personal sentences into the following function:

$$\text{FHIS} = 3.635(\text{p.w.}) + .314(\text{P.S.})$$

The mean FHIS, or the FHIS for each speech is determined by totalling the percents for all three segments, dividing them by three, and placing these quotients into the formula above. This information should be written on the worksheet.

Content Analysis Measures

Discomfort-Relief Quotient

The Discomfort-Relief Quotient (DRQ) is a measure to determine level of anxiety relative to the level of elation a speaker feels. To code segments for the DRQ you should

underline a word or phrase that indicates some sort of discomfort and circle words or phrases that indicate relief.

Therefore, words with negative connotations indicating physical, mental, emotional, or even social, political, financial discomfort or pain should be underlined. Words with positive connotations indicating comfort, satisfaction, pleasure should be circled. The number of discomfort and relief words or phrases for each segment should be entered on the worksheet. The DRQ for each segment is found by dividing the number of discomfort words by the number of relief words. The mean DRQ for a speech can be found by totaling the number of discomfort and relief words from the three segments and dividing these totals by three. Substituting the mean number of discomfort words and the mean number of relief words in the formula will yield the mean DRQ.

$$DRQ = \frac{\text{Discomfort}}{\text{Relief}}$$

Enter these numbers in the appropriate places on the worksheet.

Gottschalk-Gleser Anxiety Scale

The Gottschalk-Gleser Anxiety Scale (AX) is a measure of the speaker's anxiety level. Each clause is coded

according to the following scale which describes references to particular anxiety-producing sources (Gottschalk & Gleser, 1964).

1. Death anxiety: references to death, dying, threat of death or anxiety about death experienced by or occurring to
 - a. self(3)
 - b. animate others(2)
 - c. inanimate objects destroyed(1)
 - d. denial of death anxiety(1)
2. Mutilation (castration) anxiety: references to injury, tissue, or physical damage, or anxiety about injury or threat of such experienced by or occurring to
 - a. self(3)
 - b. animate others(2)
 - c. inanimate others(1)
 - d. denial(1)
3. Separation anxiety: references to desertion, abandonment, ostracism, imprisonment, loss of love or love of object, or threat of such experienced by or occurring to
 - a. self(3)
 - b. animate others(2)
 - c. inanimate others(1)
 - d. denial(1)

4. Guilt anxiety: references to adverse criticism, abuse, condemnation, moral disapproval, guilt, or threat of such experienced by
 - a. self(3)
 - b. animate others(2)
 - c. inanimate others(1)
 - d. denial(1)
5. Shame anxiety: references to ridicule, inadequacy, shame, embarrassment, humiliation, overexposure of deficiencies or private details, or threat of such experienced by
 - a. self(3)
 - b. animate others(2)
 - c. inanimate others(1)
 - d. denial(1)
6. Diffuse or nonspecific anxiety: references by word or phrase to anxiety and/or fear without distinguishing type of source of anxiety experienced by
 - a. self(3)
 - b. animate others(2)
 - c. inanimate others or not expressed(1)
 - d. denial(1)

The numbers in parentheses are the weights by which each reference in that category is multiplied. Each sentence should be coded by placing above that sentence the

number of the category, the letter of the subcategory, and the weight assigned accordingly. If none of the categories apply, then write "n.a." above the sentence to indicate "not applicable."

The following is an example of a coded passage from Gottschalk and Gleser:

^{n.a.}
The most interestin' part of my life is what's
happening to me|^{n.a.}and why my sister and them so
interested in my life.|^{3a(3)} Why did they want to put
me away,|and ^{3a(3)}why did they want my kids away from me.|
^{3a(3)}
And it all started back when my mother died. (1961,
p. 107)

To determine the AX, count each uncoded clause as zero, then add the weights of all the coded clauses. This sum will be the raw score. Add .5 to the raw score and multiply this sum by 100. This number is then divided by the total number of words in the segment. The AX is the square root of that quotient. More simply,

1. Obtain the raw score by adding the weights of each coded clause.
2. Increase this number by .5.
3. Multiply this number by 100.
4. Divided this product by the total number of words.
5. Take the square root of this quotient.

Enter the correct numbers on the places indicated on the worksheet. The mean AX for a speech is found by

totalling the AX scores for the three 100-word segments and dividing this by three.

Attitude Toward Others Score

The Attitude Toward Others Score (AO) is a measure of the speaker's positive and negative feelings toward others. Each code in the speech is coded according to the following categories (Gottschalk & Gleser, 1964; Markel; 1986).

- I. Interpersonal references (including fauna and flora.)
 - A. To thoughts, feelings, or reported actions of avoiding, leaving, deserting, spurning, not understanding of others.
 1. Self avoiding others(3)
 2. Others avoiding self(1)
 - B. To unfriendly, hostile destructive thoughts, feelings or actions.
 1. Self unfriendly to others(1)
 2. Others unfriendly to self(2)
 - C. To congenial and constructive thoughts, feelings or actions.
 1. Others helping, being friendly toward others(5)
 2. Self helping, being friendly toward self(5)
 3. Others helping, being friendly toward self(5)
 - D. To others.
 1. Being bad, dangerous, strange, ill, malfunctioning, having low value or worth, or in trouble(3)
 2. Being satisfied, intact, healthy, well(4)

To score a speech segment for the Attitude Toward Others Score (AO-score), place above each clause an "AO," the letter, number, and weight of the category which applies. If none of the categories apply, place an "n.a." above the clause. If the clause seems to fit two categories, use the category with the highest weights. If the categories are of equal weight, then either category may be used. The sum of the weights of the coded clauses divided by the total number of clauses will yield the AO-score for each segment. The mean is the total of the weights for each segment divided by three, divided by the quotient of the total number of clauses divided by three.

This information should be entered on the worksheet in the correct places.

The Attitude Toward Self Score

The Attitude Toward Self Score indicates the speaker's feelings about the speaker. Each clause in the speech is coded according to the following categories:

II. Intrapersonal references

- A. To disorientation--references indicating disorientation for time, place, person, or other distortion of reality--past, present, or future.
- B. To self.
 - 1a. Physical illness, malfunctioning (reference to illness or symptoms due primarily to cellular or tissue damage).(3)

- 1b. Psychological malfunctioning (references to illness not secondary to cellular or tissue damage).(3)
- 1c. Malfunctioning of indeterminate origin (references to illness or symptoms not definitely attributable either to emotions or cellular damage).(3)
- 2. Getting better.(5)
- 3a. Intact, satisfied, healthy, well; definite positive affect or valence indicated.(4)
- 3b. Intact, satisfied, healthy, well; flat, factual or neutral attitudes expressed.(4)
- 4. Not being prepared or able to produce, perform, act, not knowing, not sure.(2)
- 5. To being controlled, feeling controlled, wanting control, asking for control or permission, being obliged or having to do, think, or experience something.(3)
- C. Denial of feelings, attitudes, or mental state of the self. (1)

After reading each clause, decide which category best fits and place a "AS," the letter, numeral, and weight corresponding with that category above the clause. If no category applies, then place "n.a." above the clause. After all clauses have been coded, total the weights and divide this number by the total number of clauses. To find the AS-score for a speech, total the weights for all three segments, total the clauses for all three segments, and divide each of these two numbers by three. The mean segment weight divided by the mean number of clauses will yield the ASI-score for the speech. This information should be entered on the worksheet.

APPENDIX B
WORKSHEETS FOR CODERS

Word Count

Total words in speech _____

Total words divided by two _____; words
corresponding with halfway point _____;

Number of words in first segment _____

Number of words in second segment _____

Number of words in third segment _____

Total number of words in 3 segments _____

Mean number of words per segment _____

Syllable Count

Number of words in segment 1 _____

Number of words in segment 2 _____

Number of words in segment 3 _____

Total number of words for 3 segments _____

Mean number of words for 3 segments _____

Number of syllables in segment 1 _____

Number of syllables in segment 2 _____

Number of syllables in segment 3 _____

Total number of syllables for 3 segments _____

Mean number of syllables for 3 segments _____

Number of syllables per word in segment 1 (Number of syllables divided by number of words) _____

Number of syllables per word in segment 2 (Number of syllables divided by number of words) _____

Number of syllables per word in segment 3 (Number of syllables divided by number of words) _____

Mean number of syllables per word for 3 segments
(Mean number of words divided by mean number of syllables)

Number of syllables per word for 3 segments combined
(Total number of syllables for 3 segments divided by total number of words for 3 segments) _____

Sentence Count

Number of sentences in segment 1 _____

Number of sentences in segment 2 _____

Number of sentences in segment 3 _____

Number of words in segment 1 _____

Number of words in segment 2 _____

Number of words in segment 3 _____

Total number of sentences for 3 segments _____

Total number of words for 3 segments _____

Mean number of sentences for 3 segments (Total number of sentences divided by 3) _____

Mean number of words for 3 segments (Total number of words divided by 3) _____

Number of words per sentence for segment 1, on the average (Number of words divided by number of sentences)

Number of words per sentence for segment 2, on the average (Number of words divided by number of sentences)

Number of words per sentence for segment 3, on the average (Number of words divided by number of sentences)

Mean number of words per sentence for 3 segments (Mean number of words divided by mean number of sentences)

Number of words per sentence for 3 segments combined (Total number of words divided by total number of sentences)

Type Token Ratio

Number of Types for segment 1 _____

Number of Tokens for segment 1 _____

TTR for segment 1 (Number of types divided by number of tokens) _____

Number of Types for segment 2 _____

Number of Tokens for segment 2 _____

TTR for segment 2 (Number of types divided by number of tokens) _____

Number of Types for segment 3 _____

Number of Tokens for segment 3 _____

TTR for segment 3 (Number of types divided by number of tokens) _____

Total number of types for all 3 segments _____

Total number of tokens for all 3 segments _____

TTR for 3 segments combined (Total number of types divided by total number of tokens) _____

Mean number of types for 3 segments (Total number of types divided by 3) _____

Mean number of tokens for 3 segments (Total number of tokens divided by 3) _____

Mean TTR (Mean number of types divided by mean number of tokens) _____

Adjective Verb Quotient

Number of adjectives in segment 1 _____

Number of verbs in segment 1 _____

AVQ for segment 1 (Number of adjectives divided by number of verbs) _____

Number of adjectives in segment 2 _____

Number of verbs in segment 2 _____

AVQ for segment 2 (Number of adjectives divided by number of verbs) _____

Number of adjectives in segment 3 _____

Number of verbs in segment 3 _____

AVQ for segment 3 (Number of adjectives divided by number of verbs) _____

Total number of adjectives for 3 segments _____

Total number of verbs for 3 segments _____

Total AVQ (Total number of adjectives divided by total number of verbs) _____

Mean number of adjectives for 3 segments (Total number of adjectives divided by 3) _____

Mean number of verbs for 3 segments (Total number of verbs divided by 3) _____

Mean AVQ for 3 segments (Mean number of adjectives divided by mean number of verbs) _____

Flesch Human Interest Score

Number of personal words in segment 1 _____

Number of words in segment 1 _____

Percent of personal words for segment 1 (Number of personal words divided by number of words; multiply this quotient by 100) _____

Number of personal words in segment 2 _____

Number of words in segment 2 _____

Percent of personal words for segment 2 (Number of personal words divided by number of words; multiply this quotient by 100) _____

Number of personal words in segment 3 _____

Number of words in segment 3 _____

Percent of personal words for segment 3 (Number of personal words divided by number of words; multiply this quotient by 100) _____

Total number of personal words for 3 segments

Total number of words for 3 segments _____

Percent of personal words for 3 segments combined (Total number of personal words divided by total number of words, then multiplied by 100) _____

Mean number of personal words for 3 segments (Total number of personal words divided by 3) _____

Mean number of words for 3 segments (Total number of words divided by 3) _____

Mean percent of personal words (Mean number of personal words divided by mean number of words, multiplied by 100)

Number of sentences for segment 1 _____

Number of sentences for segment 2 _____

Number of sentences for segment 3 _____

Number of personal sentences in segment 1 _____

Number of personal sentences in segment 2 _____

Number of personal sentences in segment 3 _____

Percent of personal sentences for segment 1 (Number of personal sentences divided by number of sentences, multiply this quotient by 100) _____

Percent of personal sentences for segment 2 (Number of personal sentences divided by number of sentences, multiply this quotient by 100) _____

Percent of personal sentences for segment 3 (Number of personal sentences divided by number of sentences, multiply this quotient by 100) _____

Mean number of personal sentences (Total number of personal sentences divided by 3) _____

Mean number of sentences (Total number of personal sentences divided by 3) _____

Mean percent of personal sentences _____
(Mean number of personal sentences divided by mean number of sentences, multiply this quotient by 100)

FHIS for segment 1 _____ (Percent of personal words for segment 1 multiplied by 3.635 added to the percent of personal sentences for segment 1 multiplied by .314)

$$FHIS = pw(3.635) + ps(.314)$$

FHIS for segment 2 _____ (Percent of personal words for segment 2 multiplied by 3.635 added to the percent of personal sentences for segment 2 multiplied by .314)

FHIS for segment 3 _____ (Percent of personal words for segment 3 multiplied by 3.635 added to the percent of personal sentences for segment 3 multiplied by .314)

Mean FHIS for all 3 segments combined _____
(Mean percent of personal words multiplied by 3.635 added to the percent of personal sentences multiplied by .314)

Discomfort Relief Quotient

Number of discomfort words for segment 1 _____

Number of relief words for segment 1 _____

DRQ for segment 1 _____ (Number of discomfort words divided by the sum of the number of discomfort words and the number of relief words)

Discomfort

Discomfort + Relief

Number of discomfort words for segment 2 _____

Number of relief words for segment 2 _____

DRQ for segment 2 _____ (Number of
discomfort words divided by the sum of the number of dis-
comfort words and the number of relief words)

Number of discomfort words for segment 3 _____

Number of relief words for segment 3 _____

DRQ for segment 3 _____ (Number of dis-
comfort words divided by the sum of the number of discomfort
words and the number of relief words)

Mean number of discomfort words for all 3 segments
(Total number of discomfort words divided by 3)

Mean number of relief words for all 3 segments (Total
number of relief words divided by 3) _____

Mean DRQ for all 3 segments _____
(Mean number of discomfort words divided by the sum of the
mean number of discomfort words and the mean number of
relief words)

Gottschalk-Gleser Anxiety Scale

Number of clauses in segment 1 _____

Number of clauses in segment 2 _____

Number of clauses in segment 3 _____

Total number of clauses for all 3 segments _____

Mean number of clauses (Total number divided by 3)

Raw score for segment 1 (Sum of the weights assigned to
coded clauses) _____

Raw score for segment 2 (Sum of the weights assigned to coded clauses) _____

Raw score for segment 3 (Sum of the weights assigned to coded clauses) _____

Total Raw Score for all three segments _____

Mean Raw Score (Total Raw Score divided by 3)

AX score for segment 1 (Raw score divided by the number of clauses) _____

AX score for segment 2 (Raw score divided by the number of clauses) _____

AX score for segment 3 (Raw score divided by the number of clauses) _____

AX score for speech (estimated) (Mean Raw score divided by the mean number of clauses) _____

Attitude Toward Others Score

Number of clauses in segment 1 _____

Number of clauses in segment 2 _____

Number of clauses in segment 3 _____

Total number of clauses for all three segments

Mean number of clauses for speech (Total number divided by 3) _____

Raw Score for segment 1 _____

Raw Score for segment 2 _____

Raw Score for segment 3 _____

Total Raw Score _____

Mean Raw Score (Total divided by 3) _____

AO-score for segment 1 (Raw score divided by number of clauses) _____

AO-score for segment 2 (Raw score divided by number of clauses) _____

AO-score for segment 3 (Raw score divided by number of clauses) _____

AO-score for speech (estimated) (Mean Raw Score divided by mean number of clauses) _____

Attitude Toward Self Score

Number of clauses in segment 1 _____

Number of clauses in segment 2 _____

Number of clauses in segment 3 _____

Total number of clauses _____

Mean number of clauses (Total divided by 3) _____

Raw score for segment 1 _____

Raw score for segment 2 _____

Raw score for segment 3 _____

Total raw score _____

Mean raw score (Total divided by 3) _____

AS-score for segment 1 (Total raw score divided by number of clauses) _____

AS-score for segment 2 (Total raw score divided by number of clauses) _____

AS-score for segment 3 (Total raw score divided by number of clauses) _____

Mean AS-score for speech (estimated) (Mean raw score divided by mean number of clauses) _____

APPENDIX C
SPEECH SEGMENTS CODED FOR WORD COUNT AND
CONTENT ANALYSIS MEASURES

Speech Segments Coded for Word Count Measures

GANDHI/#1/BOMBAY/1896

First 100-word Segment

pw	pw	PS		
1	1	2	1	2
I stand before you, today, as representing the				
4	1	1	3	1
signatories to this document, who pose as representatives of				
1	1	3	1	1
the 1,000,000 British Indians at present residing in South				
4	1	2	1	3
Africa—a country which has sprung into sudden prominence				
2	1	1	1	1
owing to the vast gold fields of Johannesburg and the late				
4	1	1	1	1
Jameson Raid. This is my sole qualification. I am a person				
1	1	1	1	1
of few words. The cause, however, for which I am to plead				
2	1	3	1	1
before you this evening is so great that I venture to think				
1	1	1	1	1
that you will overlook the faults of the speaker or rather,				
1	2	1	1	2
the reader of this paper.				

GANDHI/#1

Second 100-word Segment

pw	pw	pw		
1	2	3	1	1
With the greatest deference to these view, we submitted				
1	1	1	1	1
to Mr. Chamberlain in a memorial, for we did not succeed				
2	1	2	3	1
before the Natal Parliament, that for the purposes of the				

Bill, that is, legally speaking, India did and does possess
 [elective] [representative] institutions founded on the
 parliamentary franchise. Such is the opinion expressed by
 the London Times, such is the opinion of the newspapers in
 Natal, and such is also the opinion of the members who
 voted for the Bill, and also of an able jurist in Natal. We
 are very anxious to know the opinion of the legal luminaries
 here.

GANDHI/#1

Third 100-word Segment

All this should serve as a warning and an impetus. We
 are hemmed in on all sides in South Africa. We are yet
 infants. We have a right to appeal to you for protection.
 We place our position before you, and now the responsibility
 will rest to a very great extent on your shoulders, if the
 yoke of oppression is not removed from our necks. Being
 under it we can only cry out in anguish. It is for you, our
 elder and freed brethren, to remove it. I am sure we shall
 not have cried out in vain.

GANDHI/#2/TO THE UNTOUCHABLES/1921

First 100-word Segment

PW
 I regard untouchability as the greatest blot on
 Hinduism. This idea was not brought home to me by my bitter
 experiences during the South African struggle. It is not
 due to the fact that I was once an agnostic. It is equally
 wrong to think, (as some people do) that I have taken my
 views from my study of Christian religious literature.
 These views date as far back as the time when I was neither
 enamoured of, nor was acquainted with, the Bible or the
 followers of the Bible.
 PW
 I was hardly yet twelve when this idea had dawned on
 me.

GANDHI/#2

Second 100-word Segment

We are guilty of having suppressed our brethren; we
 make them crawl on their bellies; we have made them rub
 their noses on the ground; with eyes red with rage, we push
 them out of railway compartments, what more than this has
 British Rule done? What charge, [that we bring against Dwyer
 and O'Dwyer], may not others and even our own people, lay at
 our doors? We ought to purge ourselves of this pollution.
 It is idle to talk of Swaraj so long as we do not protect

the|weak|and|the|helpless,||or|so|long|as|it|is|possible|for|
 1 1 1 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 3 1
 a|single|Swarajist|to|injure|the|feelings|of|any|individual|
 1 2 3 1 2 1 2 1 2 5

GANDHI/#2

Third 100-word Segment

PS

^{PW}1 cannot|understand|why|^{PW}1 you|should|^{PW}2 yourselves|
 1 2 3 1 1 1 2
 countenance|the|distinction|between|Dheds|and|Bhangis.||
 3 1 3 2 1 1 1
 There|is|no|difference|between|them. ||Even|in|normal|times|
 1 1 1 3 2 1 2 1 2 1
^{PW}1 their|occupation|is|as|honorable|as|that|of|lawyers|of|
 1 4 1 1 4 1 1 1 2 1
 Government|servants.||
 3 2
 The|Hindus|are|not|sinful|by|nature;||^{PW}1 they|are|sunk|in|
 1 2 1 1 2 1 2 1 1 1
 ignorance.||Untouchability|must|be|extinct|in|this|very|
 3 6 1 1 1 2
 year. ||Two|of|the|strongest|desires|that|keep|^{PW}1 me|in|flesh|
 1 1 1 2 2 1 1 1 1
 and|bone|are|the|emancipation|of|the|untouchables|and|the|
 1 1 1 1 5 1 1 4 1 1
 protection|of|the|cow.||When|these|two|desires|are|
 3 1 1 1 2 1
 fulfilled,||there|is|Swaraj,|and|therein|lies|^{PW}1 my|own|^{PW}1 Moksha.||
 2 1 1 2 1 1 1 2
 May|^{PW}1 God|give|^{PW}1 you|strength|to|work|out|^{PW}1 your|salvation.||
 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 3

GANDHI/#3/APEAL TO AMERICA/1931

First 100-word Segment

In|^{PW}1 my|opinion,|the|Indian|struggle|bears|in|its|con-
 1 1 3 1 3 2 1 1 1
 sequences|not|only|upon|India|but|upon|the|whole|world.||It|
 4 1 2 2 3 1 2 1 1
 contains|one-fifth|of|the|human|race.||It|represents|one|of|
 2 2 1 1 2 1 1 3 1 1
 the|most|ancient|civilizations. ||It|has|traditions|handed|
 1 1 2 5 1 1 3 2

down from tens of thousands of years, some of which, to the
 astonishment of the world, remain intact. No doubt the
 ravages of time have affected the purity of that
 civilization as they have that of many other cultures and
 many institutions.

If India is to revive the glory of her ancient past,
 she can only do so when she attains her freedom.

GANDHI/#3

Second 100-word Segment

It is a matter of still deeper humiliation to us that
 we Hindus regard several millions of our own kith and kin as
 degraded even for our touch. We refer to the so-called
 "untouchables".

These are no small weaknesses in a nation struggling to
 be free. And hence you will find that in this struggle
 through self-purification we have assigned a foremost place
 to the removal of the curse of untouchability and the
 attainment of unity amongst all the different classes and
 communities of India representing the different creeds.

GANDHI/#3Third 100-word Segment

And|from|that|day|forward|India|has|become|progressively|
 1 1 1 1 2 3 1 2 4
 poor.||
 1

No|matter|what|may|be|said|to|the|contrary,||it|is|a|
 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 3 1 1 1
 [historical]|fact|that|before|the|advent|of|the|East|India
 4 1 1 2 1 1 1 1 7
 Company,|these|villagers|were|not|idle,||and|he|who|wants|may|
 1 3 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
 see|today|that|these|villagers|are|not|idle.||It,|therefore,|
 1 2 1 1 3 1 1 2 1 2
 requires|no|great|effort|or|learning|to|know|that|these|
 2 1 1 2 1 1 1 1 1
 villagers|must|starve|if|they|cannot|work|for|six|months|in|
 3 1 1 1 2 1 1 1 1 1
 the|year.||
 1

May|^{PW}not,|then,|on|behalf|of|these|semi-starved|
 1 1 1 1 1 2 PS 1 1 3
 millions,|appeal|to|the|conscience|of|the|world|to|come|to|
 2 2 1 1 2 1 1 1 1 1
 the|rescue|of|a|people|^{PW}dying|to|regain|its|liberty?||
 1 2 1 1 2 1 2 1 3

GANDHI/#4/TO THE PLENARY SESSION/1931First 100-word Segment

I|^{PW}do|not|think|that|anything|~~(that)~~|^{PW}I|can|say|this|
 1 1 1 1 3 1 1 1 1 1
 evening|can|possibly|influence|the|decision|of|the|Cabinet.||
 2 1 3 1 3 1 1 3
 Probably|the|decision|has|been|already|taken.||Matters|of|
 3 1 3 1 1 3 2 2 1
 the|liberty|of|practically|a|whole|continent|can|hardly|be|
 1 3 1 4 1 1 3 1 1
 decided|by|mere|argumentation,|or|even|negotiation.||
 3 1 1 5 1 2 5
 Negotiation|has|its|purpose|and|has|its|play,|but|only|under|
 5 1 1 2 1 1 1 1 2 2
 certain|conditions.||Without|those|conditions|negotiations|
 2 3 2 1 3 5
 are|a|fruitless|task.||But|^{PW}I|do|not|want|to|go|into|all|
 1 1 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 1

these matters. || ^{pw} I want as far as possible to ^{pw} confine myself
 within the ^{ps} four corners of the conditions that you, Prime
 Minister, ^{pw} read to this Conference at its opening meeting. ||

GANDHI/#4

Second 100-word Segment

^{ps} No. || Its mission is today to ^{pw} convert Englishmen. || ^{pw} I do
 not want to break the bond between England and India, but ^{pw} I
 do want to transform that bond. || ^{pw} I want to transform that
 slavery into ^{ps} complete freedom for my country. || Call it
 complete independence or whatever you like. || ^{pw} I will not
 quarrel about that word, and even though my countrymen may
 dispute with me ^{pw} for having taken some other word, ^{pw} I shall be
 able to bear down that opposition so long as the content of
 the word ^{pw} (that you may suggest to me) bears the same meaning. ||

GANDHI/#4

Third 100-word Segment

The operatives, ^{pw} men and ^{pw} women, hugged ^{pw} me. || They treated ^{pw} me
 as one of ^{pw} their own. || I shall never forget that. ||
^{pw} I am carrying with me ^{pw} thousands upon thousands of
 English friendships. || ^{pw} I do not know them but ^{pw} I read that
 affection in ^{pw} their eyes as early in the morning ^{pw} I walk
 through your streets. || All this hospitality, ^{pw} all this

kindness| will| never| be| effaced| from| my| memory|,| no| matter|
 what| befalls| my| unhappy| land.|| I| thank| you| for| your|
 forbearance.||

GANDHI/#5/TO THE A.I.S.A./1944

First 100-word Segment

Today, I will try to explain my thoughts to you more
 clearly and present them to you in a different frame from
 what I have said during the last two days. Our work had a
 very humble beginning. When I started khadi I had with me
 apart from Maganlalbhai and others who had elected to live
 and die with me, Vithaldasbhai and a few sisters. Vithaldas
 was at that time, fighting for the labourers, but he gave
 up his shop and joined me in this unremunerative work. We
 had then not the faintest idea as to what the future had in
 store for us.

GANDHI/#5

Second 100-word Segment

It may declare me a fool for my tall talk about the
 charkha. The task of making the charkha, which for
 centuries had been a symbol of poverty, helplessness,
 injustice and forced labour, the symbol now of mighty non-
 violent strength, of the new social order and of the new

economy) has fallen on our shoulders. We have to change history. And I want to do it through you. I hope you follow what I am saying. But if in spite of it you do not believe that the charkha has the power to achieve swaraj, I will ask you to leave me. Here you are at the crossroads. If you continue with me without faith you will be deceiving me and doing a great wrong to the country.

GANDHI/#5

Third 100-word Segment

I do not know if I have succeeded in conveying my idea to you. If I have been able to carry conviction, please do one thing. Those of you who want to remain with me give me in writing that you regard the charkha from today as the emblem of nonviolence. You have to make your decision today. If you do not or cannot regard the charkha as the emblem of nonviolence and yet remain with me, then you will thereby put yourself in an awkward plight and also drag me down with you.

KING/#1/TO MONTGOMERY BOYCOTTERS/1955

First 100-word Segment

[My] friends, we are certainly very happy to see each of
 you out this evening. We are here this evening for serious
 business. We are here in a general sense because first and
 foremost we are American citizens, and we are determined to
 apply our citizenship to the fullness of its means. We are
 here because of our love for democracy, because of our deep-
 seated belief that democracy transformed from thin paper to
 thick action is the greatest form of government on earth. But
 we are here in a specific sense, because of the busi-
 situation in Montgomery.

KING/#1

Second 100-word Segment

My friends, I want it to be known that we're going to
 work with grim and firm determination to gain justice on the
 buses in this city. And we are not wrong, we are not wrong
 in what we are doing. If we are wrong, then the Supreme
 Court of this nation is wrong. If we are wrong, the
 Constitution of the United States is wrong. If we are
 wrong, God Almighty is wrong. If we are wrong, Jesus of
 Nazareth was merely a utopian dreamer and never came down to
 earth. If we are wrong, justice is a lie.

KING/#1

Third 100-word Segment PS

^{pw}
 We are going to work together. (Right) here in
 Montgomery when the history books are written in the future,
 somebody will have to say "There lived a race of people, of
 black people, fleecy locks and black complexion, of people
 who had the moral courage to stand up for their rights. And
 thereby they injected a new meaning into the veins of
 history and of civilization. And we're gonna do that. God
 grant that we will do it before it's too late. As we
 proceed with our program let us think of these things."

KING/#2/TO JUDGE LOE/1958

First 100-word Segment PS

^{pw} ^{pw} ^{pw} ^{PS}
 Your Honor, you have no doubt rendered a decision which
 you believe to be just and right. Yet, I must reiterate
 that I am innocent. I was simply attempting to enter the
 court hearing of a beloved friend, and at no point was I
 loitering. I have been the victim of police brutality for
 no reason. I was snatched from the steps of the courthouse,
 pushed through the street while my arms were twisted, choked
 and even kicked. In spite of this, I hold no animosity or
 bitterness in my heart toward the arresting officers.

KING/#2

Second 100-word Segment

^{pw}
[My] action is motivated by the [impelling] voice of conscience
and a desire to follow truth and the will of God wherever
they lead. Although I cannot pay the fine, I will willingly
accept the alternative which you provide, and that I will do
without malice.

I also make this decision because of my deep concern
for the injustices and indignities that my people con-
tinue to experience. Today in many parts of the South, the
brutality inflicted upon Negroes has become America's
shame.

KING/#2

Third 100-word Segment

I also make this decision because of my love for
America and the sublime principles of liberty and equality
upon which she is founded. I have come to see that America
is in danger of losing her soul and can so easily drift into
[tragic] Anarchy and [crippling] Fascism. Something must happen
to awaken the [dozing] conscience of America before it is too
late. The time has come when perhaps only the willing and
nonviolent acts of suffering by the innocent can arouse this
nation to wipe out the scourge of brutality and violence.

inflicted upon Negroes who seek only to walk with dignity |
 before God and man |

KING/#3/I HAVE A DREAM/1963

First 100-word Segment

I am happy to join with you today in what will go down |
 in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the |
 history of our nation |

[Five score years ago, a great American, in whose |
 symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation |
 Proclamation. | This momentous decree came as a great beacon |
 light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been |
 seared in the flames of withering injustice. | It came as a |
 joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity. |

But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not |
 free. |

KING/#3

Second 100-word Segment

; we cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro in |
 Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he |
 has nothing for which to vote. | No! No! We are not satis- |
 fied, and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down |
 like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream. |

^{PS}
^{PW} I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out
 of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come
 fresh from narrow jail cells. Some of you have come from
 areas where you quest for freedom left you battered by the
 storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police
 brutality. You have been the veterans of creative
 suffering.

KING/#3

Third 100-word Segment

^{PS}
 ; let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of
 Mississippi. "From every mountain side, let freedom ring."
 And when this happens, and when we allow freedom to ring,
 when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet,
 from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up
 that day when all of God's children, black men and white
 men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be
 able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro
 spiritual: "Free at last. Free at last. Thank God,
 Almighty, we are free at last."

KING/#4/NOBEL ACCEPTANCE SPEECH/1964

First 100-word Segment

^{pw}
 I ¹ | ² accept ¹ the ¹ Nobel ³ Prize ¹ for ¹ Peace ¹ at ¹ a ¹ moment ² when ¹ 22
 million ⁴ | Negroes ¹ of ¹ the ¹ United ⁹ States ¹ of ¹ America ¹ are ² engaged ¹
 in ¹ | creative ³ battle ² to ¹ end ¹ the ¹ long ¹ night ¹ of ¹ racial ² |
 injustice. || ^{pw} I ¹ | ² accept ¹ this ¹ award ¹ on ² behalf ¹ of ¹ a ¹ civil ² rights ¹
 movement ² | which ¹ is ¹ moving ² with ¹ determination ⁵ and ¹ a ¹ majestic ³ |
 scorn ¹ for ¹ risk ¹ and ¹ danger ² to ¹ establish ³ a ¹ reign ¹ of ¹ freedom ² |
 and ¹ a ¹ rule ¹ of ² justice. || ^{pw} I ¹ am ¹ mindful ² that ¹ only ² yesterday ³ in ¹
 Birmingham, ³ Alabama, ⁴ our ¹ children, ² crying ² out ¹ for ¹ brother-
 hood, ³ were ¹ answered ² with ¹ fire ¹ hoses, ² snarling ² dogs ¹ and ¹ even ²
 death. ||
¹

KING/#4

Second 100-word Segment

^{pw}
 I ¹ | ² refuse ¹ to ² accept ¹ the ¹ idea ³ that ¹ man ¹ is ¹ mere ¹ flotsam ¹
 and ¹ jetsam ² in ¹ the ¹ river ² of ¹ life ¹ unable ³ to ¹ influence ³ the ¹
 unfolding ³ events ² which ¹ surround ² him. || ^{pw} I ¹ | ² refuse ¹ to ² accept ¹ the ¹
 view ¹ that ¹ mankind ² is ¹ so ¹ tragically ⁴ bound ¹ to ¹ the ² starless ²
 midnight ² of ¹ racism ³ and ¹ war ¹ that ¹ the ¹ bright ¹ daybreak ¹ of ¹ peace ¹
 and ¹ brotherhood ³ can ¹ never ² become ² a ⁴ reality. || ^{pw} I ¹ | ² refuse ¹ to ²
 accept ² the ¹ cynical ³ notion ² that ¹ our ¹ nations ² must ¹ spiral ² down ¹
 a ⁵ militaristic ² stairway ² into ¹ the ¹ hell ¹ of ⁵ thermonuclear ⁵
 destruction. || ^{pw} I ¹ | ² believe ¹ that ¹ unarmed ² truth ¹ and ¹ unconditional ⁵
 love ¹ will ¹ have ¹ the ² final ¹ word ¹ in ⁴ reality. || This ¹ is ¹ why ¹ right ¹

[temporarily] defeated is stronger than evil triumphant. I believe that even amid today's mortar bursts and whining bullets, there is still hope for a brighter tomorrow.

KING/#4

Third 100-word Segment

Yet when years have rolled past and when the blazing light of truth is focused on this marvelous age in which we live - men and women will know and children will be taught that we have a finer land, a better people, a more noble civilization because these humble children of God were willing to suffer for righteousness sake.

I think Alfred Nobel would know what I mean when I say that I accept this award in the spirit of a curator of some precious heirloom which he holds in trust for its true owners - all those to whom beauty is truth and truth beauty -- and in whose eyes the beauty and truth of genuine brotherhood is more precious than diamonds or silver or gold.

KING/#5/TO MEMPHIS RALLY/1968

First 100-word Segment

Thank you very kindly my friends. As I listened to Ralph Abernathy in his eloquent and generous introduction

and then thought about myself, I wondered who he was talking
 about. It's always good to have your closest friend and
 associate to say something good about you. And Ralph
 Abernathy is the best friend that I have in the world.
 I'm delighted to see each of you here tonight in spite
 of a storm warning. You reveal that you are determined to
 go on anyhow. Something is happening in Memphis, something
 is happening in our world.

KING/#5

Second 100-word Segment

After you leave the United States, Soviet Russia, Great
 Britain, West Germany, France, and I could name the others,
 the American Negro collectively is richer than most nations
 of the world. We have an annual income of more than thirty
 billion dollars a year, which is more than all of the
 exports of the United States, and more than the national
 budget of Canada. Did you know that? That's a power right
 there, if we know how to pool it.
 We don't have to argue with anybody. We don't have to
 curse and go around acting bad with our words. We don't
 need any bricks and bottles, we don't need any Molotov
 cocktails.

KING/#5

Third 100-word Segment

Like^{pw} anybody, I^{pw} would ~~like~~ to live a long life.
 Longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that
 now, I^{pw} just want to do God's will. And He's allowed me to
 go up to the mountain. And I've^{pw} looked over. And I've^{pw} seen
 the promised land. I^{pw} may not get there with you. But I^{pw}
 want you to know tonight that we, as a people, will get to
 the promised land. And I'm happy tonight. I'm not worried
 about anything. I'm not fearing any man. Mine eyes have
 seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.

Speech Segments Coded for Content Analysis Measures

GANDHI/#1/BOMBAY/1896

First 100-word Segment

n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 I stand before you, today, as representing the
 signatories to this document, who pose as representatives of
 the 1,000,000 British Indians at present residing in South
 Africa—a country which has sprung into sudden prominence
 owing to the vast gold fields of Johannesburg and the late
 Jameson Raid. This is my sole qualification. I am a person
 of few words. The cause, however, for which I am to plead
 before you this evening is so great that I venture to think

5a(3); AO-C3(5); AS-B4(3)
 that, you will overlook the faults of the speaker or rather,
 the reader of this paper. ||

GANDHI/#1

Second 100-word Segment

1b(2); AO-C2(5); n.a.
 With the greatest deference to these view, we submitted
 to Mr. Chamberlain in a memorial, || 5a(3); AO-D1(3); AS-B4(3)
for we did not succeed
 before the Natal Parliament, that for the purposes of the
 Bill, || n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 that is, legally speaking, India did and does possess
 elective representative institutions founded on the
 parliamentary franchise. || n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 Such is the opinion expressed by
 the London Times, || n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 such is the opinion of the newspapers in
 Natal, and such is also the opinion of the members || n.a.;
 who
 AO-D2(4); n.a.
 voted for the Bill, and also of an able jurist in Natal. || 6a(3);
 n.a.; AS-B1c(3)
 are very anxious to know the opinion of the legal luminaries
 here.

GANDHI/#1

Third 100-word Segment

6b(2); AO-B1(1); n.a.
 All this should serve as a warning and an impetus. || We
 3a(3); AO-B1(2); AS-B5(3)
 are hemmed in on all sides in South Africa. || 5a(3); n.a.;
 AS-B4(3) 3a(3); AO-C3(5); AS-B4(3)
 infants. || We have a right to appeal to you for protection.
 n.a.; AO-C3(5); AS-B4(3)
 We place our position before you, || n.a.; AO-C3(5); n.a.
responsibility
 will rest to a very great extent on your shoulders, || if the

6a(3); A)-B2(2); AS-B5(3)
 yoke of oppression is not removed from our necks.|| Being
 6a(3); AO-B(2); AS-B1c(3)
 under it we can only cry out in anguish.|| It is for you, our
 elder and ~~freer~~ brethren, to remove it.|| I am sure we shall
 n.a.; AO-C(3); AS-B2(5)
 not have cried out in vain.||

GANDHI/#2/TO THE UNTOUCHABLES/1921

First 100-word Segment

4a(3); AO-B1(1); n.a.
 I regard untouchability as the greatest blot on
 Hinduism.|| 6a(3); n.a.; AS-B1c(3)
 This idea was not brought home to me by my bitter
 experiences during the South African struggle.|| It is not
 due to the fact|| that I was once an agnostic.|| It is equally
 wrong to think,|| as some people do,|| that I have taken my
 views from my study of Christian religious literature.||
 These views date as far back as the time|| when I was neither
 enamoured of, nor was acquainted with, the Bible or the
 followers of the Bible.||

I was hardly yet twelve|| when this idea had dawned on
 me.||

GANDHI/#2

Second 100-word Segment

4a(3); AO-B1(1); n.a.
 We are guilty of having suppressed our brethren|| we
 5b(2); AO-B1(1); n.a.
 make them crawl on their bellies|| we have made them rub
 their noses on the ground|| with eyes red with rage, we push

them out of railway compartments||^{n.a.; AO-B2(2); n.a.} what more than this has
 British Rule done?||^{4b(2); AO-B1(1); n.a.} What charge, that we bring against Dyer
 and O'Dwyer,||^{4b(2); AO-B2(2); n.a.} may not others and even our own people, lay at
 our doors? We ought to purge ourselves of this pollution.||^{5b(2); AO-B2(2); n.a.}
 It is idle to talk of Swaraj||^{6b(2); AO-B1(1); n.a.} so long as we do not protect
 the weak and the helpless,||^{n.a.; n.a.; n.a.} or so long as it is possible for
 a single Swarajist to injure the feelings of any individual.||^{5b(2); AO-B1(1); n.a.}

GANDHI/#2

Third 100-word Segment

^{6a(30); n.a.; AS-A(1)} I cannot understand||^{3b(2); A)-D1(3); n.a.} why you should yourselves
 countenance the distinction between Dheds and Bhangis.||
^{n.a.; n.a.; n.a.} There is no difference between them.||^{n.a.; AO-D2(4); n.a.} Even in normal times
 their occupation is as honorable as that of lawyers of
 Government servants.||
^{n.a.; AO-D2(4); n.a.} The Hindus are not sinfu||^{5b(2); AO-D1(3); n.a.} by nature;|| they are sunk in
 ignorance.||^{3b(2); n.a.; n.a.} Untouchability must be extinct in this very
 year.||^{6b(2); n.a.; n.a.} Two of the strongest desires|| that keep me in flesh
 and bone|| are the emancipation of the untouchables and the
protection of the cow.||^{n.a.; n.a.; n.a.} When these two desires are
 fulfilled,||^{n.a.; n.a.; n.a.} there is Swaraj,||^{n.a.; n.a.; n.a.} and therein lies my own Moksha.||
^{n.a.; n.a.; n.a.} May God give you strength to work out your salvation.

GANDHI/#3/APPEAL TO AMERICA/1931First 100-word Segment

6b(2); n.a.; n.a.

In my opinion, the Indian struggle bears in its consequences not only upon India but upon the whole world. It n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
contains one-fifth of the human race. It represents one of n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
the most ancient civilizations. It has traditions handed n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
down from tens of thousands of years, some of which, to the 2d(1); n.a.; n.a.
astonishment of the world, remain intact. No doubt the 6b(2); AO-D1(3);
n.a.
ravages of time have affected the purity of that
civilization as they have that of many other cultures and
many institutions.

n.a.; n.a.; n.a.

If India is to revive the glory of her ancient past,
n.a.; n.a.; AS-B5(3) 3b(2); AO-D2(4); n.a.
she can only do so when she attains her freedom.

GANDHI/#3Second 100-word Segment

5a(3); n.a.; AS-B1b(2)

It is a matter of still deeper humiliation to me that
5b(2); AO-D1(3); AS-n.a.
we Hindus regard several millions of our own kith and kin as
too degraded even for our touch. I refer to the so-called 3b(2); AO-D1(3); n.a.
"untouchables".

5a(2); AO-D1(3); n.a.

These are no small weaknesses in a nation struggling to
n.a.; n.a.; n.a. 2b(2); AO-C2(5); n.a.
be free. And hence you will find that in this struggle
through self-purification we have assigned a foremost place
to the removal of the curse of untouchability and the

attainment ~~of unity~~ amongst all the different classes and communities of India representing the different creeds.||

GANDHI/#3

Third 100-word Segment

6b(2); AO-D1(3); n.a.

And from that day forward India has become progressively poor.||

n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
No matter what may be said to the contrary,|| it is a
n.a. n.a.; AO-D2(4); n.a.
historical fact|| that before the advent of the East India
Company, these villagers were not idle,|| and he who wants may
see today|| that these villagers are not idle.|| It, therefore,
requires no great effort or learning to know|| that these
n.a. 1b(2); AO-D1(3);
villagers must starve|| if they cannot work for six months in
the year.||

1b(20); AO-D1(3); n.a.
May I not, then, on behalf of these semi-starved
millions, appeal to the conscience of the world to come to
the rescue of a people dying to regain its liberty?||

GANDHI/#4/TO THE PLENARY SESSION/1931

First 100-word Segment

n.a.; n.a.; AS-B4(3) n.a.; n.a.; AS-B5(3) n.a.; n.a.;
I do not think|| that anything|| that I can say this
n.a.
evening|| can possibly influence the decision of the Cabinet.||
n.a.; n.a.; AS-B5(3) n.a.; n.a.;
Probably the decision has been already taken.|| Matters of
n.a.
the liberty of practically a whole continent can hardly be

decided by mere argumentation, or even negotiation.||
 n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
Negotiation has its purpose and has its play, but only under
 certain conditions.|| Without those conditions negotiations
 are a fruitless task.|| But I do not want to go into all
 these matters.|| I want as far as possible to confine myself
 within the four corners of the conditions||that you, Prime
 Minister, read to this Conference at its opening meeting.||

GANDHI/#4

Second 100-word Segment

n.a. n.a.; n.a.; n.a. 3C(1);
 No.|| Its mission is today to convert Englishmen.|| I do
 AO-B1(1); n.a.
 not want to break the bond between England and India,|| but I
 n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 do want to transform that bond.|| I want to transform that
 slavery into complete freedom for my country.|| Call it
 n.a. n.a.; n.a.; n.a. n.a.; AO-B1(1);
 complete independence|| or whatever you like.|| I will not
 n.a. 4a(3); AO-B2(2); AS-B3b(4)
quarrel about that word,|| and even though my countrymen may
 dispute with me for having taken some other word,|| I shall be
 AO-B2(2); AS-B3b(4) n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 able to bear down that opposition|| so long as the content of
 the word (|| that you may suggest to me ||) bears the same meaning.||

GANDHI/#4

Third 100-word Segment

n.a.; AO-C3(5); n.a. n.a.; AO-C3(5);
 The operatives, men and women, nugged me.|| They treated me
 n.a. n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 as one of their own.|| I shall never forget that.||

n.a.; AO-C3(5); AS-B3a(4)
 I am carrying with me thousands upon thousands of
 English friendships.|| n.a.; n.a.; AS-B4(3) n.a.; AO-C3(5);
 n.a. affection in their eyes|| n.a.; n.a.; n.a. as early in the morning I walk
 through your streets.|| n.a.; AO-C3(5); AS-B3a(4) All this hospitality, all this
kindness will never be effaced from my memory,|| 6b(2); no matter
 A)-D1(3); AS-B1C(3) what befalls my unhappy land.|| n.a.; AO-C3(5); n.a. I thank you for your
forbearance.||

GANDHI/#5/TO THE A.I.S.A./1944

First 100-word Segment

n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 Today, I will try to explain my thoughts to you more
 clearly and present them to you in a different fram from
 what|| n.a.; n.a.; n.a. I have said during the last two days.|| n.a.; n.a.; n.a. Our work had a
 very humble beginning.|| n.a.; n.a.; n.a. When I started khadi|| n.a.; n.a.; n.a. I had with me,
 apart from Maganlalbhai and others|| 1b(2); AO-C3(5); AS-B1a(3) who had elected to live
 and die with me,|| 2b(2) Vithaldasbhai and a few sisters.|| Vithaldas
 AO-C2(5); n.a. was, at that time, fighting for the labourers,|| 3C(1); AO-C3(5); but he gave
 AS-B4(3) up his shop and joined me in this unremunerative work.|| n.a.; We
 n.a.; AS-B4(3) had then not the faintest idea|| n.a.; n.a.; AS-B4(3) as to what the future had in
 store for us.||

GANDHI/#5

Second 100-word Segment

^{5a(3); n.a.; AS-1b(2)}
 It may declare me a fool for my tall talk about the
 charkha. || ^{n.a.; n.a.; n.a.} The task of making the charkha, ^{6b(2); n.a.} which for
^{n.a.} Centuries had been a symbol of poverty, helplessness,
injustice and forced labour, the symbol now of mighty non-
violent strength of the new social order and of the new
 economy ^{n.a.; n.a.; AS-B5(3)} has fallen on our shoulders. || We have to change
 history. || ^{n.a.; AO-C3(5); n.a.} And I want to do it through you. ||
^{n.a.; n.a.; n.a. n.a.; n.a.; n.a.; n.a.; n.a. n.a. n.a.; n.a.;}
~~I hope~~ you follow what I am saying. || But if in spite of
^{n.a.} it you do not believe ^{n.a.; n.a.; n.a.} that the charkha has the power to
 achieve swaraj, || ^{3b(2); AO-B1(1); AS-B1(3)} I will ask you to leave me. || ^{n.a.; n.a.; n.a.} Here you are at
 the crossroads. || ^{n.a.; n.a.; AO-D1(3)} If you continue with me without faith || ^{6a(3);} you
^{AO-B2(2); n.a.} will be deceiving me and doing a great wrong to the
 country. ||

GANDHI/#5

Third 100-word Segment

^{n.a.; n.a.; AS-B4(3) n.a.; n.a.; AS-B4(3)}
 I do not know || if I have succeeded in conveying my idea
 to you. || ^{n.a.; n.a.; AS-B4(3)} If I have been able to carry conviction || ^{n.a.; n.a.;} please do
^{AS-B5(3)} one thing. || ^{n.a.; n.a.; AS-B4(3); AO-C3(5); n.a.} Those of you ^{n.a.} who want to remain with me ^{n.a.} give me
 in writing || ^{n.a.; AO-D2(4); n.a.} that you regard the charkha from today as the
 emblem of nonviolence || ^{n.a.; n.a.; n.a.} You have to make your decision
 today. || ^{n.a.; n.a.; n.a.} If you do not or cannot regard the charkha as the
 emblem of nonviolence and yet remain with me, || ^{6a(3); AO-D1(3);} then you will

AS-B5(3)
thereby put yourself in an awkward plight and also drag me
down with you.||

KING/#1/TO MONTGOMERY BOYCOTTERS/1955

First 100-word Segment

n.a.; AO-C2(5); AS-B3(5)
My ~~friends~~ we are certainly very ~~happy~~ to see each of
you out this evening.|| We are here this evening for serious
business.|| We are here in a general sense because first and
foremost||we are American citizens,||and we are determined to
apply our citizenship to the fullness of its means.|| We are
here because of our love for democracy, because of our deep-
seated belief||that democracy transformed from thin paper to
thick action is the greatest form of government on earth.||
But we are here in a specific sense, because of the bus
situation in Montgomery.||

KING/#1

Second 100-word Segment

n.a.; AO-C2(5); n.a. 6a(3); AO-C2(5); n.a.
My ~~friends~~ I want it to be known||that we're going to
work with grim and firm determination to gain justice on the
buses in this city.|| And we are not wrong,||we are not wrong
in what||we are doing.|| If we are wrong,||then the Supreme
Court of this nation is wrong.|| If we are wrong,||the
Constitution of the United States is wrong.|| If we are

AS-B1c(3) 4b(2); AO-D1(3); n.a. 4a(3); AO-D1(3); AS-B6(3)
 wrong,|| God Almighty is wrong.|| If we are wrong,|| Jesus of
 4b(2); AO-D1(3); n.a.
 Nazareth was merely a utopian dreamer and never came down to
 earth.|| 4a(3); AO-D1(3); AS-B1c(3) n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 If we are wrong,|| justice is a lie.||

KING/#1

Third 100-word Segment

n.a.; AO-C1(5); AS-B3b(4) n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 We are going to work together.|| Right here in

Montgomery when the history books are written in the future||
 n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 somebody will have to say|| "There lived a race of people, of
 n.a.; AO-
 black people, fleecy locks and black complexion,|| of people
 D2(4); AS-B3a(4)
 who had the moral courage to stand up for their rights.|| And
 n.a.; AO-C1(5); AS-B3a(4)
 thereby they injected a new meaning into the veins of
 history and of civilization.|| n.a.; AO-C1(5); AS-B3a(4) n.a.;
 And we're gonna do that.|| God
 n.a.; AS-B5(3) 6a(3); n.a.; AS-B4(3) n.a.; n.a.;
grant that we will do it before it's too late.|| As we
 n.a.
 proceed with our program|| n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 let us think of these things.||

KING/#2/TO JUDGE LOE/1958

First 100-word Segment

n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 Your Honor, you have no doubt rendered a decision|| n.a.;
 which
 AO-D2(4); n.a.
 you believe to be just and right.|| n.a.; n.a.; AS-B5(3)
 Yet, I must reiterate||
 4d(1); n.a.; AS-B3a(4) n.a.; AO-C2(5); AS-B5(3)
 that I am innocent.|| I was simply attempting to enter the
 court hearing of a beloved friend,|| 4d(1); n.a.; n.a.
 and at no point was I
 loitering.|| 2a(3); AO-B2(2); AS-B1a(3)
 I have been the victim of police brutality for
 no reason.|| 2a(3); AO-B2(2); AS-B1a(3)
 I was snatched from the steps of the courthouse,

2a(3); AO-B2(2); AS-B1a(3)
 pushed through the [street while my arms were twisted,] choked
 6d(1); AO-C2(5); AS-B3b(4)
 and even kicked.|| In spite of this, I hold no animosity or
bitterness in my heart toward the arresting officers.||

KING/#2

Second 100-word Segment

n.a.; n.a.; AS-B5(3)

My action is motivated by the impelling voice of conscience
 n.a.; n.a.;
 and a desire to follow truth and the will of God||wherever
 AS-B5(3) n.a.; n.a.; AS-B5(3) n.a.; n.a.; AO-C2(5)
 they lead.|| Although I cannot pay the fine,|| I will willingly
 AS-B3b(4)
 accept the alternative|| which you provide,|| and that I will do
without malice.||

5b(2); AO-B2(2); AS-B1b(2)

I also make this decision because of my deep concern
 5a(3); AO-B2(2); AS-B1b(2)
 for the injustices and indignities|| that my people con-
 2b(2); AO-B2(2); n.a.
 tinue to experience.|| Today in many parts of the South, the
 brutality inflicted upon Negroes has become America's
shame.||

KING/#2

Third 100-word Segment

n.a.; AO-C2(5); AS-B3a(2)

I also make this decision because of my love for
 America and the sublime principles of liberty and equality
 n.a.; n.a.; n.a. n.a.; n.a.; n.a. 4b(2); AO-D1(3);
 upon which she is founded.|| I have come to see|| that America
 AS-B1b(2)
 is in danger of losing her soul and can so easily drift into
tragic Anarchy and crippling Fascism.|| 4b(2); AO-D1(3); AS-B1b(2)
 Something must happen

to awaken the dozing conscience of America before it is too late. || The time has come when perhaps only the willing and nonviolent acts of suffering by the innocent can arouse this nation to wipe out the scourge of brutality and violence inflicted upon Negroes who seek only to walk with dignity before God and man. ||

KING/#3/I HAVE A DREAM/1963

First 100-word Segment

I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation. ||

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. || This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. || It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity. || But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free; ||

KING/#3

Second 100-word Segment

6a(3); AO-D1(3); AS-B(5) 6b(2); AO-D1(3); n.a.
 ; we cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro in
 n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he
 6b(2); AO-D1(3); n.a. n.a. 6a(3); AO-D1(3); AS-B1b(2)
 has nothing for which to vote. No! No, we are not satis-
 fied, and we will not be satisfied until ~~justice~~ ^{n.a.; n.a.; n.a.} rolls down
 like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream."||
 6a(3); n.a.; n.a. 6b(2); n.a.; n.a.
 I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out
 of great trials and tribulations. 4b(2); n.a.; n.a.
 Some of you have come
 fresh from narrow jail cells. n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 Some of you have come from
 n.a.; AS-b(2); AO-D1(3)
 areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the
 storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police
 brutality. 6b(2); AO-D1(3); n.a.
 You have been the veterans of creative
 suffering.||

KING/#3

Third 100-word Segment

n.a.; AO-C1(5); n.a.
 ; let ~~freedom~~ ring from every hill and molehill of
 n.a.; AO-C1(5); n.a.
 Mississippi. "From every mountain side, let ~~freedom~~ ring."
 n.a.; n.a.; n.a. n.a.; AO-C1(5); n.a.
 And when this happens, and when we allow ~~freedom~~ to ring,||
 n.a.; AO-C1(5); n.a.
 when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet,
 from every state and every city, n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 we will be able to speed up
 that day when n.a.; AO-C1(5); n.a.
 all of God's children, black men and white
 men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be
 able to ~~join hands~~ and ~~sing~~ in the words of the old Negro

spiritual:| ^{n.a.; AO-D2(4); AS-B3a(4)} ~~"Free at last. Free at last. Thank God~~
^{B3a(4); n.a.; AO-B1(1); n.a. n.a.; AO-D2(4); AS-B3a(4)}
 Almighty,|we are free at last.|"

KING/#4/NOBEL ACCEPTANCE SPEECH/1964

First 100-word Segment

^{n.a.; n.a.; n.a.;}
 I accept the Nobel Prize for ~~Peace~~ at a moment|when 22
^{5b(2); AO-C2(5); n.a.}
 million Negroes of the United States of America are engaged
 in creative battle to end the long night of racial
^{n.a.; AO-C2(5); n.a.}
 injustice.|| I accept this award on behalf of a civil rights
^{n.a.; AO-D2(4); n.a.}
 movement|which is moving with determination and a majestic
scorn for risk and danger to establish a reign of ~~freedom~~
 and a rule of ~~justice~~.| ^{n.a.; n.a.; n.a. 1b(2); AO-D1(3); n.a.} I am mindful that only yesterday in
 Birmingham, Alabama, our children, crying out for brother-
hood, were answered with fire hoses, snarling dogs and even
death.||

KING/#4

Second 100-word Segment

^{n.a.; n.a.; AS-C(1)}
 I refuse to accept the idea|^{6b(2); AO-D1(3); AS-B5(3)} that man is mere flotsam
 and jetsam in the river of life unable to influence the
^{3b(2); n.a.; n.a.} unfolding events|^{n.a.; n.a.; AS-C(1)} which surround him.|| I refuse to accept the
^{6b(2); AO-D1(3); n.a.} view that mankind is so tragically bound to the starless
^{n.a.; AO-C1(5); AS-B4(3)} midnight of racism and war|| that the bright daybreak of peace
 and brotherhood can never become a reality.|| ^{6b(2); n.a.;} I refuse to

AS-B4(3) 1a(3); AO-D1(3); AS-B4(3)
 accept the cynical notion that our nations must spiral down
 a militaristic stairway into the hell of thermonuclear
 destruction. n.a.; n.a.; n.a. n.a.; AO-C2(5); AS-B3a(4)
 I believe that unarmed truth and unconditional
 love will have the final word in reality. n.a.; n.a.; n.a. n.a.;
 This is why temporarily defeated is stronger than evil triumphant. n.a.;
 I believe that even amid today's mortar bursts and whining
 bullets, there is still hope for a brighter tomorrow.

KING/#4

Third 100-word Segment

n.a.; n.a.; n.a. n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 Yet when years have rolled past and when the blazing
 light of truth is focused on this marvelous age in which we
 live, n.a.; AO-D2(4); n.a. n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 men and women will know and children will be taught
 that we have a finer land, a better people, a more noble
 civilization because 6b(2); AO-C1(5); n.a.
 these humble children of God were
 willing to suffer for righteousness sake.
 I think Alfred Nobel would know what I mean when I say
 that I accept this award in the spirit of a curator of some
 precious heirloom which he holds in trust for its true
 owners--all those to whom beauty is truth and truth beauty
 --and in whose eyes the beauty and truth of genuine brother-
 hood is more precious than diamonds or silver or gold.

KING/#5/TO MEMPHIS RALLY/1968First 100-word Segment

n.a.; AO-C2(5); n.a. n.a.; AO-C3(5); AS-
~~Thank~~ you very ~~kindly~~ my friends.|| As I listened to
 B3b(4)
 Ralph Abernathy in his ~~eloquent~~ and ~~generous~~ introduction
 and then thought about myself,|| I wondered who|| he was talking
 n.a. n.a.; AO-C3(5); AS-B3a(4)
 about.|| It's always good to have your closest ~~friend~~ and
 n.a.; AO-C3(5)
 associate to say something good about you.|| And Ralph
 n.a. n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 Abernathy is the ~~best friend~~|| that I have in the world.||
 2b(2); AO-C3(5); AS-B3a(4)
 I'm ~~delighted~~ to see each of you here tonight in spite
 n.a.; n.a.; n.a. n.a.; AO-D1(4); n.a.
 of a storm warning.|| You reveal that|| you are determined to
 n.a.; n.a.; n.a. n.a.; n.a.;
 go on anyhow.|| Something is happening in Memphis,|| something
 n.a.
 is happening in our world.||

KING/#5Second 100-word Segment

n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 After you leave the United States, Soviet Russia, Great
 n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 Britain, West Germany, France,|| and I could name the others,||
 n.a.; AO-D2(4); n.a.
 the American Negro collectively ~~is richer~~ than most nations
 n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 of the world.|| We have an annual income of more than thirty
 n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 billion dollars a year,|| which is more than all of the
 exports of the United States, and more than the national
 n.a.; n.a.; n.a. n.a.; n.a.; n.a.
 budget of Canada.|| Did you know that?|| That's a power right
 n.a.; n.a.; AS-B4(3)
 there,|| if we know how to pool it.||
 6d(1); AO-B1(1); AS-B5(3) 6d(1); AO-D1(3);
 We don't have to argue with anybody.|| We don't have to
 AS-B5(3) 6d(1)
 curse and go around ~~acting bad~~ with our words.|| We don't

AO-D2(4); AS-B3b(4) 6d(1); AO-D2(4); AS-B3b(4)
 need any bricks and bottles, we don't need any Molotov
 cocktails.

KING/#5

Third 100-word Segment

1a(3); n.a.; AS-blc(3)
 Like anybody, I would like to live a long life.||
 n.a.; n.a.; n.a. 1d(1); n.a.; AS-B3b(4)
 Longevity has its place.|| But I'm not concerned about that
 n.a.; AO-C2(5); AS-B3b(4) n.a.; AO-C3(5); n.a.
 now,|| I just want to do God's will.|| And He's allowed me to
 go up to the mountain.|| And I've looked over.|| And I've seen
 n.a.; n.a.; n.a. 1a(3); n.a.; n.a. n.a.;
 the promised land.|| I may not get there with you.|| But I
 n.a.; AS-B3a(4) n.a.; AO-D2(4); AS-B3a(4)
 want you to know tonight|| that we, as a people, will get to
 n.a.; n.a.; AS-B3a(4) 6d(1); n.a.;
 the promised land.|| And I'm happy tonight.|| I'm not worried
 AS-B3a(4) 6d(1); AO-B2(2); AS-B3a(4) n.a.; n.a.;
 about anything.|| I'm not fearing any man.|| Mine eyes have
 AS-B3a(4)
 seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.||

APPENDIX D
GANDHI'S AND KING'S SCORES ON WORD COUNT MEASURES

Gandhi's Scores on Word Count Measures

Speech	Segment	Words/ Clause	Syllables/ Words	TTR	AVQ	FHIS
No. 1	First	9.50	1.56	.73	.73	6.97
Bombay	Second	11.11	0.60	.60	.58	107.26
(1896)	Third	8.82	1.33	.70	.67	55.47
No. 2	First	10.00	1.52	.75	.62	36.35
Untouch-	Second	10.09	1.32	.72	.54	74.96
ables	Third	8.75	1.51	.72	.67	43.32
(1921)						
No. 3	First	10.10	1.55	.71	.78	18.00
Appeal	Second	12.86	1.60	.76	1.83	36.80
(1931)	Third	8.67	1.45	.71	.27	13.09
No. 4	First	10.50	1.70	.71	.42	27.39
Plenary	Second	8.82	1.40	.70	.29	41.27
(1931)	Third	8.00	1.41	.76	.64	92.61
No. 5	First	10.40	1.36	.75	.75	69.55
A.I.S.A.	Second	9.85	1.34	.65	.50	72.85
(1944)	Three	9.40	1.36	.61	.16	58.20

King's Scores on Word Count Measures

Speech	Segment	Words/ Clause	Syllables/ Word	TTR	AVQ	FHIS
No. 1	First	12.25	1.52	.60	4.67	64.33
Boycott	Second	6.78	1.34	.60	0.80	116.66
(1955)	Third	7.83	1.37	.76	0.53	71.20
No. 2	First	10.56	1.41	.73	0.62	56.72
Loe	Second	9.22	1.63	.75	0.40	47.29
(1958)	Third	12.00	1.61	.72	0.56	23.56
No. 3	First	11.75	1.29	.72	1.33	23.32
Dream	Second	8.07	1.42	.64	0.31	57.81
(1963)	Third	11.00	1.34	.52	0.59	53.61
No. 4	First	14.67	1.66	.76	1.42	16.52
Nobel	Second	9.77	1.65	.67	0.94	22.90
(1964)	Third	8.27	1.34	.66	1.08	45.23
No. 5	First	7.75	1.49	.66	0.75	78.24
Memphis	Second	8.83	1.47	.65	0.40	58.65
(1968)	Third	7.07	1.25	.66	0.28	86.08

APPENDIX E
GANDHI'S AND KING'S SCORES ON CONTENT ANALYSIS MEASURES

Gandhi's Scores for Content Analysis Measures

Speech	Segment	DRQ	AX	I-Score	II-Score
No. 1 Bombay (1896)	First	1.00	3.16	0.56	0.67
	Second	1.00	2.92	1.50	0.75
	Third	0.67	4.37	2.09	3.18
No. 2 Untouch- ables (1921)	First	0.83	2.55	0.20	0.30
	Second	0.93	4.50	1.00	0.09
	Third	0.42	3.72	0.00	0.90
No. 3 Appeal (1931)	First	0.60	3.07	1.00	0.30
	Second	0.88	3.57	2.00	0.28
	Third	0.88	3.18	1.92	0.00
No. 4 Plenary (1931)	First	0.83	0.69	0.00	0.90
	Second	0.57	2.78	0.58	0.36
	Third	0.13	1.77	3.30	1.40
No. 5 A.I.S.A. (1944)	First	1.00	2.30	1.50	1.20
	Second	0.82	2.86	0.85	0.62
	Third	0.50	2.63	1.20	1.50

King's Scores on Content Analysis Measures

Speech	Segment	DRQ	AX	I-Score	II-Score
No. 1 Boycott (1955)	First	0.4	2.26	1.29	1.14
	Second	0.71	5.00	2.73	1.53
	Third	0.57	1.80	1.90	2.60
No. 2 Judge (1958)	First	0.60	3.56	2.20	2.30
	Second	0.62	3.11	1.78	2.56
	Third	0.62	2.37	2.13	1.88
No. 3 Dream (1963)	First	0.60	2.51	3.43	0.57
	Second	0.84	4.39	1.50	0.79
	Third	0.00	0.22	3.36	1.09
No. 4 Nobel (1964)	First	0.64	2.09	2.83	0.00
	Second	0.57	3.08	1.36	1.93
	Third	0.14	1.28	1.93	0.86
No. 5 Memphis (1968)	First	0.20	1.48	2.42	1.08
	Second	0.00	1.94	1.67	1.75
	Third	0.09	2.99	1.14	2.43

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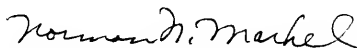
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Mittie Nimocks was born in 1957 into a family of educators. She began school in the racially segregated public school system of Hattiesburg, Mississippi, was among the first group of students bussed across town to the "black" junior high and high schools, and finally graduated from Hattiesburg High School in 1975 in that school's first completely integrated class. Growing up next door to the University of Southern Mississippi, Mittie earned a B.S. in speech communication there in 1979. Her M.A. in speech communication was granted by the University of Illinois in 1982. She expects to receive her Ph.D. in speech from the University of Florida in 1986.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



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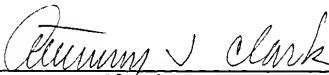
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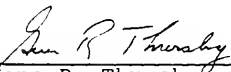
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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Speech Communication in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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